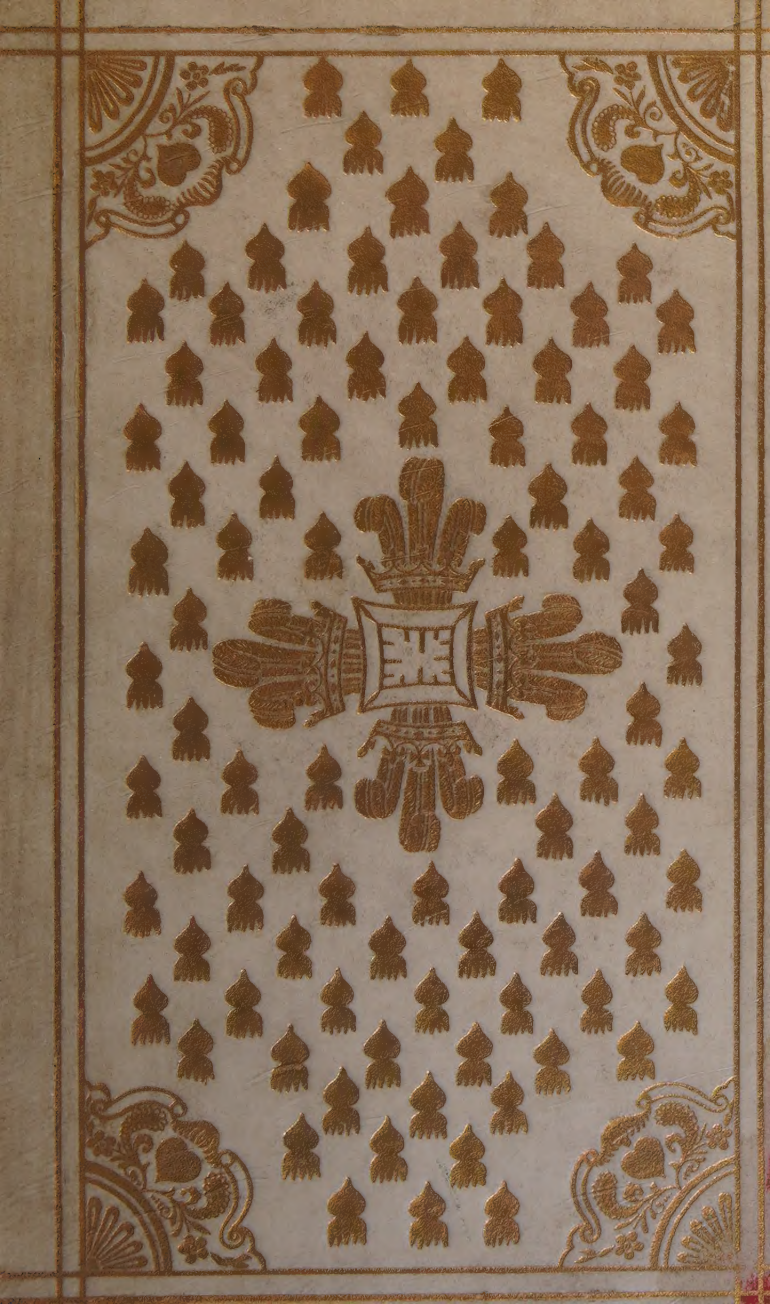


WITHDRAWN FROM CHELSEA STOCK

942.062
BAT

LONDON BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
LIBRARY SERVICE

Author

Title

BOOK STORE

ooks or discs must be returned on or before the last date stamped on label or on
ard in book pocket. Books or discs can be renewed by telephone, letter or personal
all unless required by another reader. After library hours use the Ansafone
ervice (01-698 7347). For hours of opening and charges see notices at the
nove branch, but note that all lending departments close at 1 pm on Wednesday

METROPOLITAN
SPECIAL COLLECTION

This edition is limited to 320 *copies for sale and* 30 *for presentation and review, of which this copy is No.* 27

The Late Troubles in England

Charles 1.

A Short
NARRATIVE
OF THE
Late Troubles
IN ENGLAND

First written in Latin *by an* Anonymus, *for the information of Forreners, and now* don into English, *for the behoof and pleasure of our Countrey-men*

1649

LONDON
F. E. ROBINSON & CO.
20 GREAT RUSSELL STREET
1902

PRINTED AT THE RUSSELL PRESS
20 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY

I 42.062
EAT

NOTE ON THE BINDING

NOTE ON THE BINDING.

By Cyril Davenport, F.S.A.

AFTER the invention of printing in Europe, about the middle of the fifteenth century, the binding of books in vellum, which had already been common for manuscripts, remained largely in use on the Continent. These bindings were left plain, and put together in a manner known as "limp," that is to say, without stiff boards; and they also had ties on the front edges, to keep them from curling outwards. Old waste music-books were often used up for this purpose. It was, however, not until the time of James I. that such vellum bindings were used in England to any extent, and when they were they were nearly always gilded more or less. The taste for white and gold bindings was, nevertheless, no new thing in England, as both Henry VIII. and his Tudor successors had many books bound for them in this way, but the leather used was not vellum, and it was always put over boards, in contra distinction to the limp manner. The white leather so much used by Thomas Berthelet in the early sixteenth century is generally considered to have been deerskin. It is thick, soft, creamy in colour, and has probably been prepared with lime, as vellum is, and even after the lapse of some hundreds of years it is now, as a rule, quite sound. The most notable books of this kind still left are all royal, and fine specimens can be seen both in London and at Oxford; and now and then a rare specimen comes into the market.

The decoration on the books bound for our Tudor sovereigns usually excludes the "semis" proper, that is to say, a close powdering of small stamps arranged symmetrically over the field of a binding. It is difficult to say when this method of decorating a book began, but in England it first shows in a few scarce instances of small books bound in calf for Queen Elizabeth quite towards the end of the sixteenth century, but during the next two reigns the use of this powdering was very common in England; indeed it may be said to be one of the leading characteristics of the finer decorative bookbinding work done in England during the first half of the seventeenth century. The limp vellum bindings made during the reigns of James I. and Charles I. are always thin and small, and are usually lined with white paper. They generally have only a coat of arms or heraldic badge impressed in gold in the middle, but in special instances they have also ornamental corners, borders, and a semis. Among the many small stamps used for the semis on vellum, that of an ermine spot, a flaming heart, or a sunflower, are perhaps the commonest. The corner-pieces, though always small, and designed in a specially small way, yet show distinctly the Jacobean taste. The backs of these books are always left quite plain and without lettering. The feather badge of the Prince of Wales, which was first used by the children of Edward III., in right of their mother, Philippa of Hainault, became in time the special badge of the eldest son of the King or Queen of England. It was first used on bindings by Prince Edward, afterwards Edward VI., and then by Henry, Prince of Wales, who died in 1612. Prince Henry always had his feathers impressed in silver on his books. Prince Charles suc-

ceeded to his brother's books and binding-stamps, which are often found used conjointly with the initials "C.P." instead of "H.P." Charles was made Prince of Wales in 1616, and he was not slow to adopt the traditional device of the ostrich plumes, which, however, were now always impressed in gold, as they have been ever since. Both Prince Henry and Prince Charles were the possessors of travelling libraries of small books, numbers of which still exist, bound in red and green morocco. It may be that they had also little libraries in vellum, like that of Sir Julius Cæsar, Master of the Rolls under James I., but if so, they have become largely scattered, and do not appear in anything like a set in any one library as the others are.

Vellum is made from the skin of the calf, and parchment, which is like it, but not so good, is made from sheepskin. Vellum is of very ancient use as a material for writing upon, and it is said that it first became extensively used by order of Eumenes II., King of Pergamum, in the first half of the second century B.C., because, for some reason or other, the supply of papyrus became precarious and difficult. Papyrus is inferior to vellum, because, after the lapse of a considerable time, it becomes so brittle that it is likely to disappear in powder if touched. Also the colour of papyrus is such, that the writing upon it is very apt to merge so nearly into the same tint that it may become very difficult to distinguish. But in spite of these defects, the oldest pieces of writing existing, except those cut in stone or painted upon wood, are written upon papyrus, which, when very old, has to be kept between two pieces of glass. The actually oldest manuscript on this substance is supposed to be the Papyrus Prisse, now at Paris, and

supposed to have been written about B.C. 3500. The earliest Latin MS. is, curiously enough, not written upon either papyrus or vellum, but scratched upon wax. This curious relic is dated A.D. 55, and is a record of a payment made to Umbricia Januaria; it was found, with several other diptychs, at Pompeii in 1875.

The oldest vellum manuscript now left is supposed to be the "Cottonian" copy of Genesis, written in Greek, now, unluckily, much damaged, as it was badly burnt in a fire which nearly destroyed all the Cottonian Library in 1731.

No doubt the best pieces of vellum were always picked out for writing upon, so that much of the skin was left unused along the edges and other parts which may have been stained or too thick. This waste was quickly made use of for bindings, and for this purpose it is a very excellent material, especially for books that are likely to be kept in smoky towns. A good vellum binding will allow dust and dirt to accumulate upon its surface, but not to penetrate into its substance, so it is easily cleaned. Vellum is, however, singularly sensitive to the influence of strong light, which will render it brittle like eggshell, so that books bound in it should be kept in the dark corners of the library, or if in a light place they should be turned round and their backs put inwards. In this case, which is an old one, the title of the book used to be written on the upper part of the fore edge; a good plan, and one which might now be followed with advantage in many instances.

Vellum is troublesome to gild, but very effective if well done: bookbinders will always put on a coloured label, if they are allowed to, for the lettering. The late William Morris knew the charm of limp vellum

bindings, and constantly used them. He did not ornament them, but gave the lettering in gold, sometimes on the sides and sometimes on the back, and was always very particular about his silk ties, which are often charmingly arranged so as to do duty as accessory bands for the back as well as going actually round the whole book.

The vellum headbands of old vellum bindings were always drawn in at their ends and properly fastened, instead of being cut off in the awkward and useless way they now are. Morris put no headband at all, in any instances of his vellum bindings that have come under my observation.

The binding chosen for the present edition of Dr. Bates' "Elenchus Motuum" is taken from that covering some Almanacks of 1624, which were bound together for Charles, Prince of Wales, and in which he has written some remarks and signed his name.

In the centre are four impressions of the Prince of Wales' triple ostrich feather badge within a coronet and with a blank label, arranged as a star. In each corner of the rectangle on each side is an ornament, practically forming a quarter circle, adorned with scrolls and a design of a heart, and the field is powdered with a semis of flaming hearts. The vellum is arranged so as to project over the front edges, forming a little guard, and there are the remains of two silk ties on each cover.

Of course for the present purpose the sides of the book are made firm, as by that means it is easier to handle, and also more in keeping with the other volumes of the series, but the original is limp. The back has no lettering or ornamentation upon it.

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION.

IT may seem not out of place, that before turning to the subject of this little volume, I should give a slight idea of the interesting volumes by other hands which are to follow.

For the second of the series Dr. Wickham Legg has edited the Coronation of James I., from the MS. in the library of the Archbishop of Canterbury, collating it with a transcript of Elias Ashmole's, now in the Bodleian Library, and other manuscripts which have become known to him. King James's coronation service is of special interest as illustrating the Stuart coronations, in which the "Liber Regalis" is first used in English.

Dr. Wickham Legg's work is in the press, and Mr. Sime's manuscript is finished. For the first time students, and all who honour the memory of that glorious man, the Great Montrose, will have his life briefly and touchingly told as it was written by an eyewitness. In the whole of this little series the aim in view is, not to rewrite history, find the philosopher's stone, or even the North Pole, but just to give the ideas and the words of our kinsmen some matter of three hundred years ago. The longer we dwell in the present, the more we need to turn round now and then to catch a fresh cool breeze from the distant hills of the days of old.

Mr. Jenner, who is so at home in Stuart lore in general, and Scottish in particular, is editing the account of Claverhouse, with the story of Dundee's

officers after they went to France—a book of extreme rarity.

> "See! above his glorious body
> Lies the royal banner's fold—
> See! his valiant blood is mingled
> With its crimson and its gold—
> See how calm he looks, and stately,
> Like a warrior on his shield,
> Waiting till the flush of morning
> Breaks along the battle-field!"

In Canon Deedes' volume will be given for the first time the real story of the little Princess Elizabeth, the devoted daughter of Charles the First. Canon Deedes will also try to find room for an account of that most precious little volume "The Loyall Sacrifice: Presented in the Lives and Deaths of those two Eminent Heroick Patternes, for Valour, Discipline and Fidelity; The generally beloved and bemoaned, Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, knights. Being both shot to death at Colchester, five houres after the Surrender. Printed in the year 1648."

The sixth volume of the series will give for the first time, in a pithy form, the strange career of Dr. Barwick, which was in such an interesting way wrapped up in the real secret history of the Civil Wars, and illustrated the critical condition of the Church of England at the period. This volume has been taken in hand by the learned Dr. Barwick's near kinsman, who wrote the Charles the First part of the British Museum catalogue, and is now Superintendent of the Reading Room, and Assistant Keeper.

The last volume at present arranged for, Mr. Leopold Wickham Legg, Dr. Wickham Legg's son, has set to work upon directly after finishing his Coronation book. This journal of travels in England in 1634 is most interesting, and has never been printed.

Every word will now be given, and of course a full index will be added. Mr. Wickham Legg is making a journey over just the same ground, which will, of course, add to the interest of his introduction.

The volume, the text of which has here been set up in type, I first saw at Mr. James Westell's. He, with the transparent honesty and good heart which have made his name honoured for over sixty years, named his moderate price, and asked me to take the book home, examine it at leisure, only keeping it and paying for it if I found it worth while.

It is a version, in our native tongue, of Dr. George Bate's "Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia; Simulac Juris Regii et Parlamentarii Brevis Enarratio." None of the Latin or English printed versions agree in words and phrases with the manuscript, which Messrs. F. E. Robinson & Co. have here printed from direct. This manuscript has all the marks of an original. It is in the handwriting of the period, and the writer has made alterations and corrections in various places. In printing it the spelling has been followed throughout, but contractions have, of course, been expanded.

The text does not fill more than three-fourths of the book, the rest of the leaves being blank, except for a couple of leaves of verses, and on the last leaf the following *à propos* of translations:

All Translations I suppose may be reduced to these Three heads

First, that of Metaphras, or turning an Author word by word, and line by line, from one language into another thus or near, was Horace art of poetry Translated by Ben Johnson.

The second way is that of Paraphrase, or Translation with latitude, where ye Author is kept in veiw by ye

translator soe as never to be lost, soe is admitted to be amplified not alterd his words being not to be soe strictly followd as his sence, such is Mr wallers Translation of virgills fourth Æneid

The way is imitation, where the Translator assumes the liberty not onely to vary from ye words and sence, but to forsake them both as he sees occasion: and takeing onely some generall hints from the originall to run division on ye ground work as he pleases. Such is Mr Cowleys practice in turning two odes of Pindar, and one of Horrace into English.

Concerning ye first of these methods our master Horrace giues this caution Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere, fidus Interpres, nor word for word to faythfully Translate as the Earle of Roscommon has excellently render'd it, Too faythfully is pedantically. 'Tis a fayth like yt which proceed from superstion blind and zealous. Take in ye expression of Sr John Denham, To Sr Rich: fanshaw on his version of the Pastor fido his verses on ye other

> That servill path, Thou nobly dos't decline,
> Of Tracing word by word and line by line;
> A New and nobler way thou do'st persue,
> To make Translations and translators too:
> Thay but preserue ye Ashes thou the flame,
> True to his sence but truer to his fame.

all in ye preface of Ovids Epistles.

The volume is in a contemporary leather binding, just such as Richard Royston or Samuel Browne would have clothed it in.

Before going on to treat of the volume in hand, a few words about the various editions may be fitting, especially as Dr. Norman Moore, in his story of Dr. George Bate for the "Dictionary of National Biography" writes of the "Elenchus," "its bibliography is obscure," and he gives 1650 as the earliest date of the work.

Two Latin editions were issued in 1649. The one (British Museum, 600 a 6): "Elenchus | Motuum

nuperorum | in Anglia; | Simulac | Juris Regii | et | Parlamentarii | Brevis Enarratio. | A. 2455. | Lutetiæ Parisiorum, | Pro R. R. An. Dom. | 1649." This is in twelves, and paged 1 to 224. The other (B. M., E 1409): The wording of the title page agrees, but it is a new setting up, and so is the text. It is in twelves, and paged 1 to 228. 600 a 6 is the earlier edition, as it has, on a leaf before the text, a list of errata. In E 1409 the errata have been corrected, and the leaf on which they were recorded in the first edition is left blank.

B. M., 9512 b 25, "Elenchus | Motuum nuperorum | in | Anglia; | Simulac | juris regii | et | parlamentarii | Brevis Enarratio. | Francofvrti ad Mænvm. | Ex Officina Samuelis Browne. | 1650.," was printed from E 1409, the corrected edition of 1649.

In the Grenville collection (B. M., G 3292) is: "Elenchus motuum nuperorum in Anglia Simulac juris regii et Parlamentarii Brevis Enarratio. Editio secunda correctior. Edimburgi: Sumptibus Theodori Veridici. 1650." This is paged 1 to 339.

It would do no good to give full descriptions of all the editions, but I name them so as to note the interest taken in the subject:

B. M., 9510 a: "Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1658."

B. M., 9528 a: "Ristretto delli moti moderni d'Inghilterra, con un breve racconto delle ragioni del Rè e del Parlamento. Tradotto dal Latino . . . dal Dottor G. B. Birago Avogaro," etc. "Venetia, 1652."

B. M., 599 a 21: "Abregé Des Derniers Mouvemens 'Angleterre. avec un Raisonnement Succinct des droits Tant du Roy, que du Parlement. A Anvers chez Jacques Moens 1651."

B. M., 9525 de 1: "Les vrayes causes des derniers troubles d'Angleterre. Abregé d'Histoire où Les

Droicts du Ruy . . . . A Orange chez Edouard Raban, Imprimeur & Libraire de Son Altesse, de la Ville, & Université. 1653."* This is a translation by S. Sobière.

I have a copy of the "Elenchus" in English, in twelves, and paged 1 to 300. The B. M. copy is 1326 b 18. The title is as follows: "A Compendious | Narrative | of | The late Troubles in | England. | or, | Elenchus Englished. | First, written in Latin by | an Anonymus, for the infor- | mation of Forreners, | and | Now, don into English, | for the behoof and pleasure | of our Countrey-men. | Posterior qui sequitur. Fabius Quinctilianus. | Printed in the Yeare, 1652." "The Translatour's Address, to the Candid Reader," is worth giving, so here it is: "Reader, 'Tis the Comparison of an ingenious Gentl'eman; Translations (sai'th He) are like the wrong side of a Turky-Carpet, which is wont to be ful of thrums and knots, and nothing so even, as the right-side. If, then, in this my present Version (wherin I have (notwithstanding) Efforted my-self, to have the English most genuin and round) there shold occur any phrase, a little undelicat or grating to the curious and more-purg'd ear (and the great Latin Oratour, instructing his Oratour Candidat, tels us, *Aurium*

* I have just bought from Jacques Rosenthal, the well-known bookseller of Munich, a copy of a hitherto unknown edition of "Eikon Basilike": it was printed at Orange by Edouard Raban, and only three years before he printed the "Elenchus." I will distinguish this "Eikon" by naming it 57 a. It is an edition of Porré's translation. The text of the "Eikon" is paged 1 to 447. The title is: "Eikon Basilike | Le Portrait | Dv Roy | De la Grand | Bretagne, | Durant sa solitude & ses souffrances. | Rom. 8. | Plus que vainqueur, &c. | Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est. | A Orange, | Chez Edovard Raban, Imprimeur | & Libraire de son Altesse, de la | Ville & Vniversité. | M. DC. L. | Avec Permission.

judicium est superbissimum) I can, forthwith, insconce my-self, within the patronage of the precedent Resemblance, and, so, secure me from the rigour of their over-district sentence.—If I incur your censure, Reader, for using (and, that, in som frequencie) words, that, for their Latin (or French) Origin, may seem to need an interpreter; 'twas don (without al dissembling) to-the-end-that my Translation might not appear too flat and spungie, having observ'd the most depredicated Autours of the times writing in the same vein. Beside, I put it upon my accompt, the majority of my Readers, would be neither Women, nor single sol'd English-men.—For the sence of the excellent Autour, (a mater, that imports most) I hold a strong hope, it hath not fled me, at-al, but that I have kep't it intire. Himself (if he livs) can best arbitrat that His much-estimed Name, I could never inform my self of, any neerer, than within four Persons. But, how-so-e're he cals him-self, I trust, he wil, no-waie, disrelish this not-uningenuous attempt upon his work; and, if (not impossible) I have, any-where, less reach't his conceptions (though I have very carefully weighed every syllable) he wil favourab'lie connive at the lapses of a wel-men't (although, perhaps, over-forward) Essaie.—Having, thus far, express'd my-self, to preamble, farther, would be but (by interteining you, thus, with this courser antepast) an uncivil deteining of you; far choicer viands expecting you.—For close, then; if in contemplation of this poor piece of industrie, you shal, in your Litanie, or other your Applications to Heaven, vouchsave me a mention, and recommend me to our common Assertour, 'tis al, I ask, and shal accompt my-self (amply,) therby rewarded. Farewel."

At the Restoration a second part was added (and

afterwards a third), bringing the story up to date; and the following editions may be noted:

B. M., 599 c 14: Londini, 1661-1663.

B. M., 600 a 21: Amstelodami, 1663.

B. M., 599 c 15: Londini, 1663.

B. M., 599 c 16: Londini, 1676.

B. M., 291 e 26: The following is the title: "Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia: | or, | A short Historical Account | of | The Rise and Progress | of the | Late Troubles in England. | In Two Parts. | Written in Latin by Dr. George Bates, | Principal Physician to K. Charles the I. and | K. Charles the II. | Motus Compositi: | or, the | History | of the | Composing the Affairs of England | By the Restauration of K. Charles the Second, | And the Punishment of the Regicides: | And other Principal Occurrents to the Year 1669. | Written in Latin by Tho. Skinner, M.D. | Made English. | To which is added a Preface by a Person of Quality, | and in the body of the Work several choice Original Papers, | an account of which is given in the end of the Preface. | London: Printed for Abel Swalle, at the Unicorn at | the West-end of St. Paul's Church-yard. 1685." In eights, paged 1 to 170, 1 to 256, and 1 to 107. This edition has a frontispiece, fearfully and wonderfully designed and executed. I take the following from the long preface, first passing over pages about the beginning of the world, the Deluge, and a score more subjects. George, Lord Bishop of Winchester, is no doubt Morley, who, through evil report and good report, was the staunch friend of Charles the First. Hardly anyone knew so well as he the history of those stirring times, in which he always played a noble part. "Whilst the Original of this small History was in Writing, it was several times

seen by the Reverend George Lord Bishop of Winchester, the Worthy Nicholas Oudart Secretary and Counsellour to the Prince of Orange; by Sir John Wederburn Knight; by Dr. Richard Owen Professor of Divinity, and Rector of St. Swithins in London; by Dr. George Ent, heretofore Physician to Charles the First, and now to the present King; and also by Fabian Philips an Attorney, who was my Assistant in searching the Rolls, Offices, and Monuments of the Law, (that I may not mention Dugard who printed it) men above all exceptions: although there is an insolent Defamer, who pretends I have fathered another mans Work, whose Calumnies I neither value nor fear.—The Second Part was added by Dr. Bates, after his late Majesties Restitution, to inform the World of the manner of his Majesties Escape from Worcester, and how things were carried till the deposition of Richard Cromwel, wherein is an excellent account of the bloudy War in Ireland, and the just Judgment of God upon the Scotch Covenanters for joyning with our English Parliamentarians, upon pretence of setting up Presbytery here, but indeed to inrich themselves the second time with the Spoils of England; the effect of which was, that Presbytery was ruined even in Scotland by O.C. and his victorious Independant Army, and they lost at the same time all their Civil Priviledges, and were treated, till the Kings return, as a conquered People by their fellow-Rebels.—The Third Part was written by one Dr. Tho. Skynner, another Learned Physician, to continue and bring down the Story, and shew the Joy of our Nation at the Restitution of his late Majesty. It is in the Original written in a florid stile, and full of curious and ingenuous Reflections."

In writing of Dr. George Bate for the "Dictionary

of National Biography," Dr. Norman Moore has not named at all a book of 144 pages, with a leaf of portrait heads facing the title page. The press mark of the British Museum copy is 615 a 24. The title reads: "The lives, actions, and execution of the prime Actors, and principall Contrivers of that horrid Murder of our late pious and Sacred Soveraigne King Charles the first, of Ever blessed memory. With Severall Remarkable Passages in the Lives of others, their Assistants, who died before they could be brought to justice. By George Bate, an observer of those Transactions. London, Printed for Tho. Vere, at the signe of the Angell without Newgate, 1661." Of course it is just possible that this George Bate was not our George Bate; and I must say that no one seems hitherto to have ascribed it to the versatile Doctor.

Dr. George Bate, author of the "Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia," was born at Maids Morton, Buckinghamshire, in 1608. As often happened in those days, his university career was not all at one college. He entered at New College, Oxford, then went to Queen's, and finished at St. Edmund Hall, graduating in 1626. In 1629 he became M.B., and in 1637 M.D. He was a member of the little court which attended upon the King at Oxford, and was made physician to his Majesty. In 1640 he was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians, and came to live in London, where for the rest of his days he was a well-known figure. I cannot trace any portrait of him. In the interregnum he became physician to Cromwell. At the Restoration he was appointed physician to Charles the Second, and was one of the earliest fellows of the Royal Society. In 1666 he delivered the anatomy lectures at the Royal

College of Physicians. Three years later, on April 19th, 1669, he died at his house in Hatton Garden, and was buried at Kingston upon Thames.

The ugly monuments and vainglorious inscriptions of a later age have made us often overlook the pathetic monumental records of an earlier and better day, I therefore give here the inscription recorded on Bate's tomb in the chancel of Kingston Church: "Spe Resurrectionis felicis heic juxta sita est Elizabetha conjux lectissima Georgii Bate, M.D., Car. II. Med. Primarii qui cineres suos adjacere curavit ut qui unanimes . . . . vixerant quasi uni corp . . . . condormientes una resurgant. Mortem obiit 7mo April, 1667, æt 46, ex hydrope pulmonum funesta Londini conflagratione accelerat . . Obiit ille 19 April, 1669, ætatis suæ 60."

"The Royal Apology: or the Declaration of the Commons in Parliament, 11 Feb. 1647, canvassed," printed on about fourteen sheets quarto, is said to have been the work of Bate, and from it he might easily be led on to the larger work, namely, the "Elenchus." It is not to be confused with another tract, "Regal Apology." In Philip Bliss's "Wood's Athenæ" both are mentioned; of the latter it is written: "Printed, as 'tis said, at Paris the same year, but who the author of it was, I know not, unless the King himself."

"Elenchus" is well worth studying. There is not a trace of fiction in it: you read the thrilling story of a man leading the active life of a cultivated, learned physician, throughout the whole of these stirring times. George Bate honoured the King, but he could see and value much on the other side of the question as well. I venture to think that it is highly interesting to have here, printed word for

word in the colloquial tongue of those days, the short narrative of those few years, when, often all unconsciously, they were making history in giant leaps. Here, fortunately, I can give you the thoughts and phrases *not* prepared for press.

In putting together the early part, I daresay friend Fabian Philips, the attorney, gave good help. Pages 1 to 7 are a "diuercion to vnfolde the prærogatiues of the king"; pages 7 to 18 "the parliamens priueledges, and the peoples libirties." On page 13 it is written of any measure which may have passed both houses: "iff they agree the matter is carried to the king which iff hee approues of hee alsoe writes *Le Roy le veult* by which meanes itt receaueth life euen as the soule infused in the bodye; and itt passeth into a powerfull lawe and anon is published to the people."

On page 24 comes the King's fatal step: "that hee may meete and more maturely nippe those commocions in the budde accuseth fiue of the howse of commons and one of the peeres of high treason . . . . the matter to bee tried before the iudges of the kingdome the crime in debate being proued according to the lawes of England."

At page 26 the time of the King's quitting London is reached, and let me have the privilege of quoting a few lines from Dr. Gardiner: "At that moment Charles stood by his wife . . . . But he could suffer with her tenderly and lovingly. Long afterwards when she told how with a word of hers she had, as she believed, betrayed the secret of the design of surprising the five members, the memory of his self-restraint rose to her lips. 'Never,' she said, 'did he treat me for a moment with less kindness than before it happened, though I had ruined him.'

"In loving affection the royal pair set out on their long exile."

Pages 42 to 46 deal with the national league and covenant. On page 42 are the words "desirous of the pray," and at page 33 "expectation of pray." This is not an expression of Christian devotion, but is the translator's way of spelling "prey," for the Latin *præda*.

On page 47, "the king commands the Marquesse of Hamilton to contayne the Scotts att home." I know nothing that nowadays so well expresses the self-contained character of a proud Scot as to hear him speak in his own accents of "living in a self-contained house."

On page 48 "the king deliuers himselfe vpp into the hands of the Scotts . . . . Hence grudges arise betwixt the Scotts and independents (for soe nowe was the other faction of the Nouators called)."

Page 49, "the kings person is deliuered into the hands of the parliamenteers."

Page 50, "king is receaued into Newcastle by Commissioners from the parliament." "Brought into Holmeby in Northamptonshire."

Then Bate pauses to divide up those whom he has included hitherto as Nouators, and writes of independents, Anabaptists, præsbiterians, Oligarchy, Anarchy, Democracy, and the rest.

How true to many pictures of life is the lower part of page 51; and on the next page, where they "exulcerate the mindes of the parliament men agaynst the king."

On page 55 the Independents are shortly described. The rest of the course of the book the kindly reader will easily follow.

On page 71 the king reaches the Isle of Wight,

and from here to the end are the pages which are still more alive with interest than what are gone before. George Bate lived in the closest touch with what was going forward in those latter days.

Page 93, the lower half of it: "In finishing the treaty the king alone sifted and refuted all arguments of moment with wisdome and force of arguing almost incredible." Sir Philip Warwick, who was perhaps even better able to judge, bore a like testimony.

Now, page 105 is specially well worth reading: the quaint moral lessons of life call to mind the wisdom of the Psalms of David or the Song of Solomon; but then, again, you need to read the pages that go before to be fully interested.

On page 107 the purged parliament (!) enacts that "the Treaty with the king is voyde . . . . That all power doeth primarily recide in the people . . . . That; that power doeth apertayne to the howse of Commons . . . ."

On page 108, what so many aptly called a Supreme Court of Injustice is set up.

Page 113. Of the King, charged by the self-constituted Court of Injustice, Bate writes: "brought foorth to bee depriued of his life yet makes hee noe discovery of an incomposed minde or countenance . . . . The king hauing heard this calumnious accusation, in whose countenance and words appeared that maiesty the height of which cannot fitly bee expressed."

On page 118 the scene of the court passing sentence is vividly depicted.

On page 123 the King's speech on the scaffold is recorded. Then on pages 128, 129, George Bate lets his own heart tell what he thought of the King. Such words as I quote are very touching, and no

doubt true: "to bee the same man at all times, to keepe the same tenor of vertue and morality, the same countenance in aduersity as hee was wont to haue in prosperity, whoe passing as itt where out of the torride into the frigide zone still altred nothing of the temper of his minde,: whoe euen pleased those that were auersely vnwilling, and with a certaine inchantment as itt were appeased the hatreds of many; hee made his very enemies his adorers, and turned their reproaches into prayses."

The engraving from which the photogravure frontispiece to this volume has been made is an extra insertion in a copy of mine of "Eikon Basilike," No. 44. It is of sad interest, as showing the king in his last days. With reference to the engraver's name, Mr. O'Donoghue, of the Print Department, British Museum, kindly writes to me: "The name you are exercised about is 'George Lid,' at least that is how it appears quite plainly on our impression, and it is so given in the Sutherland Catalogue. At the same time there is no record of any engraver named George Lid, and I have never met with the name on any other print."

Edward Almack

A TREWE
Character or Deſcription
OF THE
Late Mocions in England
Togeather with a short
NARRATION
OF THE
Rights of King and Parliament

A 2455.
Att paris: for R: R: Anno Domini 1649.

LIUYS HISTORY lib: 3d.

But as yet soe great and strange a negligence doeth possesse this age,: that the worshipp of god is wholly layd aside, nor doeth any countrey by a good and candide interpretacion, fashion lawes and oathes, conuenient for ittselfe,: but rather necessitates and fitts, itts constitution, and temper to them.

VIRGILL.

The king preserued and safe, one minde possesseth all;
Once lost, they breake their faith, their honey turnes to gall.

PROPHET HOSEA, chap: 10th, verse ye 3d, 4th.

For nowe they shall saye wee haue noe king,: because wee feared not the lord: and what showlde a king doe to vs;

They haue spoken wordes swearing falsely in making a couenant: thus iudgment groweth as wormewood in the furrowes of the feild;

JEREM: chap: 12, verse 1st, 2d.

O lord, iff I dispute with thee thou art righteous,: yet lett mee talke with thee of thy iudgments; wherefore doeth the way of the wicked prosper: why are all they in wealth that rebelliously transgresse;

Thou hast planted them, and they have taken root: they growe, and bring forth fruite, thou art neere in their mouth, and farre from their reynes;

THE AUTHORS EPISTLE TO THE READER.

IN this litle worke (howe euer qualified,:) I haue first rancked those rights of the king, parliament, and people, which decide, and limite the boundes of each ones dominion or empire; That by comparing what are their rights by theire deedes, you may both reade and iudge of our differences; afterwards I haue vnfolded the causes of these mocions, the mocions themselues, and their end,: (iff wee canne soe stile the beginning of our future calamity) as the regicide ittselfe,: but restrayning these our Iliads, or vnhappy differences and ciuill warres only in a short membrane, or description, and giuing you the relacion only of the cheifest heads; And these I relate, not only by the faith and credite of others, but throwgh a familiar acquaintance of the transaction of all matters; most of which the kingly authenticke writings, and parliament rolls, and the best monuments of the lawyers doe testifye And that I may more exactly knowe them I was oftentimes admitted into the places where they were acted;

And that the trueth may be more clearely manifested, noe ranckor of spiritt, or malice hinders, either to curry fauour with the one, or hazard the hattred of the other, for I had rather bee obnoxious to the lawe of Solon, and suffer its penalty, then soemuch as blowe the coale to these vnnaturall, and civill warres;

but towards the end of this litle history, my spiritt moued with the thought of the sauage Barbarismes then acted, was somewhat enraged,: and my penne a litle lashed out, yet still contayning ittselfe within the boundes of trueth, deliuering their heynous facts, in a milder stile peraduenture then was fitt;

To conclude iff by this short historicall narration I haue had the happines to haue excited others that haue more leasure to compile and adorne a compleate history,: and by their endeauours strangers may haue a greater thirst to knowe and consider our transactions I haue my aymes; but as to the censure and danger that in this age may happen to those that dare to write trueth,: I as litle regarde, as feare;

THEODORUS VERIDICUS
ffecit.

THE TRANSLATORS APOLOGY TO THE INGENIOUS READER.

THIS litle History (better knowne and habited in the language the much ingenious author clad itt in,:) I was much importuned by a freind of that sexe, (whose requests are commands) to present to her, in her owne natiue language best vnderstood; wherein my intention was to doe the office of a Translator, not an Historian,: being equally guilty of my owne disability, as not ignorant of the Iniury, that with as much impudence as weakenes woulde reflect vpon the author; whose elegancy of lattine and stile is by mee more admired then commended; Iff therefore by chance itt vnfortunately appeares, further then my first intention in this rude dresse,: I humbly craue pardon,: cheifely of the Author (only knowne by his worth not his name;) And then I begge your fauourable construction,: whoe may peraduenture throwgh the same importunacy share in the like folly; Howeuer you haue trueth, (and sence naked:) iff your fancy will not giue itt a garment to cloath itt; yet iff your more candide disposition will preuent itts shipwrack with the times you haue made mee happy in the graunt of my petition,: which is to reade itt, and then vse and censure if you will;

Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia, 1649

ELENCHUS MOTUUM.

THE kingdome of England was enioyed by noe other authority euen to the vtmost memory of Annalls then that of kings; (Although itt is not easy for mee to say whether deuided in prouinces or petty kingdomes); nor coulde itt take a breathing formerly free from intestine mocions or forraigne incursions, vntill itt had yealed to the obedience and guardianship of one only Monarch; From which beginning with a very great authority to posterity euen aboue a thowsand yeares the kingdome was gouerned in a perpetuall series or order of kings; and therevpon that loue and observance of one only prince soe possest the people that they easily esteemed hee woulde proue the best and most worthy of empire whoe was next to the king in bloud; nor did itt please them to conferre the cheifest gouerment of affayres to any other but to him that was borne by a deserued and hereditary right of succession,: soe that to the dead king his princely sonne or next heyre, though an infant, was in the same instant placed in the throne and putt into the swadling cloathes; of this as itt were immortality of raigning the lawes commonly boast of, that the king of England neuer dieth. To this, what more solemnities are vsed, *videlicet* of coronacion and stipulacion which sometimes manifest

but not make the prince, or else admonish both prince and people of theire duty, and the pledge of their faith mutually receaved reconciles their mindes,: but the ceremonies of the diadem though drawne forth att lenght doe adde nothing to or diminish from the kingly authority or the obeying his commands; for all the subiects in generall are bound by an ancient institucion to sweare fealty to the prince though not crowned; And that to theire duty there might bee added a double tye of obedience they are afterwards alsoe enioynd to take the oath of supremacy to him; And nowe lett itt not seeme strange or vnfitt iff I deprætate the neglect of the reader in the very entrance of this history by a sudden diuercion to vnfolde the prærogatiues of the king, the parliamens priueledges, and the peoples libirties,: a subiect which peraduenture to our eares may occasion disdayne, but to the reader that is a stranger, as to the worke wee offer, will bee necessary, for otherwise itt will not bee manifest what lawes are violated and what kept

And first of all what power the king hath ouer the liues and fortunes of his subiects and that itt is very great appeares by this; That all the subiects landes and possessions whatsoeuer are reported to bee taken out of the kings patrimony and that by a mediate or immediate line and either in fee or by fiduciary right they possesse them,: being rich rather by the gift of the king then of fortune, and afterwards as often as the hæriditary line fayles, or the possessors fall deseruedly from theire rights either by fellony

murder, or treason, theire riches flowe back agayne as itt were tō the ocean, being confiscated to the king; The king is alsoe father of the country and all the care or custodye of wards Lunaticks and ideots, and theire reuenewes are the kings proper substance and by the ancient lawes with this prouisoe that they shall not afterwards contract mariage without his consent vnder a great fine or penaltye; what further power the king hath is euident by the coyne, whose substance, forme, manner, and valewe is varied att the kings will; from the kingly diadem all the raies or beames of honour take their refulgency, all titles, and priueledges do flowe, all societies and colledges of men are constituted; The Admirall, chancellor, Treasurer, the iudges of the kingdome, high sheriffes and all deputy leiutenants receaue not their offices without the kings Commission,: And under the kings name alone all præcepts, writts and breues are sent foorth: neither doe any enter into any office of gouerment before they haue by oath assured their fidelity to the king that the king may receaue noe detriment, and that they may not cease to gouerne faithfully and diligently in their seuerall counties; moreouer itt belongs to none but the king to sett the growndes or reasons of peace and warr, and to erect military discippline according to his pleasure and will not rules of lawe: to dispose of the militia of the land and fleet att sea, and that in his watchings for the publicke safetye hee might bee strenghthnened and inabled to suppresse internall seditions and fortefye itt agaynst outward violence and opposition: in his

power itt is to constitute Armories, munitions, castles with which maritine defences in a long peace England may be sorrownded as itt is by the sea,: and as often as there is neede to sende foorth and repayre the navy and in these to place Captaines and gouernors,: yea the power of the sworde doeth only apertayne to that hand that swaies the scepter, soe that iff any subiect taketh vpp armes though for the kings defence iff itt bee without his Commission hee is guilty of treason hee looseth his office, nor scapes hee vnpunished unlesse hee hath afterwardsobtayned the kings pardon; Neither hath his Imperye smaller bowndes in ecclesiasticall matters then in ciuill which you may apprehend (sence the casting as itt were ouer the threshold the pope of Rome and confining the iurisdiction of the Church within itts owne limitts; soe that the long strugling clergye are numbred subiects with the rest; Thus the king is keeper of both Tables and as hee is supreme lorde in ciuill affayres soe noe lesse in ecclesiasticall and is nowe acknowledged,: and by the lawes is made as itt were the kingdomes supreme Bishopp in promoting Bishops conferring dignities proclayming fasts ordayning rights and ceremonies of the Church, (which sacred power notwithstanding hee hath not a long time exercised with vnadvised mixtures of diuine things;) hee hath alsoe soe much power in the very lawes themselues (howsoeuer bound by the lawes,:)) as sometimes hee is wont to moderate the rigor of the lawes, by that which is æquitable and conuenient in fauour of delinquents,: and to make a

lawe for those causes which were before by noe lawe defined; and of himselfe to giue iudgment; Last of all (I relate heere not rashlye) but all these things by the cleare testimony of the lawyers in one king you may finde the life, the head, and authority of all things that are done in England

But whereas the king cannot have with Briareus a thowsand hands nor like the sunn surveye all thinges with a single eie, hee therefore makes vse of Councellors, what and howe many hee pleaseth of the peeres, Bishopps, and iudges of the kingdome; togeather with some nobles of lower dignity without the enuy of any whoe haue been accustomed to bee partakers of his burdens and cares; After these manifestacions of most glorious empire that which I shall nowe adde is; that itt is neither the countries nor any humane constitucion that the king shoulde stand before the iudgment seate and bee punished with his owne sworde; (the king) I say, whome the lawe most willingly declares cannot dye, there being noe neede to restrayne his liberty of ruling by such inhumanity and tiranny towards his person; True itt is whatsoeuer happens to be done in administracion of the cheifest affayres agaynst the lawes of the countrey or which is lesse the good of the people, his ministers or officers are liable to be punished for; neither doeth this language proceede from the flatterye of the lawe but of very great equity that the king canne neuer erre or doe iniury to any one,: seing itt lieth in the officers and councellors (whose part itt is to

admonish the prince or to withdrawe from him their assistance when he commands vniust things and lastly to renounce their offices rather then to obey him commanding anything agaynst the lawes itt being in them that all the fault is and ought to be imputed; yea with this care the lawes looke vpon the safety of the prince whose part itt is to keepe the lawes,: that euen the next heyre of the kingdome with whatsoeuer crime branded, with whatsoeuer iudgment or accusation intangled by the death notwithstanding of his predecessor with an expiation as itt were hee is freed from punishment and guilt and ascending the throne hee is taken from the very tribunall or iudgment seate;

To him that gouernes the kingdome this sufficeth for a bridle that hee may expect God the reuenger; neither is itt iust for the king in England to robbe or spoyle his subiects, or to make or abrogate lawes by his authority alone,: but by the præscript of the lawes those honourable matters of absolute power are to bee administred soe alsoe they are not the smallest rights of the kingdome which hee hath in common with the people,: by which communicated authority of gouerning that hee may the better procure the obedience of his subiects hee hath the power of interpreting what lawes are fitt to bee put in practice or suspended and vnloosed from the ambiguous snares of deceite,: the raysing of money out of course as often as occasion shall require, restoring illegitimates, naturalizing strangers, altering and instituting rights of possession, corroborating diuine

worshipp itt being first made by the decrees of the Sinode conformable to the worde of god and to appoint a standard for weights and measures but in things of this nature itt is needefull that nothing shoulde bee done that may seeme greiveous to be endured without and beyond the consent and procurement of the people the councells and suffrages of the parliament being added,: which is the highest court of England and with the king next to god the all powerfull place of Judicature in this Iland or kingdome

The parliament of England is a conuention summond of all orders of the kingdome by the king,: of Bishopps, peeres, and delegates of the people, of which the king is the head; and these haue their seates into senate howses or courts *videlicet* the vpper and the lower howse

The vpper howse which is called the howse of peeres, Bishopps and peeres *videlicet* dukes, Marquesses, Earles and Barons doe fill the iudges of the lawe sitting togeather with them ioyned for councell not for their voyces

The lower howse or that which wee calle the howse of Commons is constituted of 2 knights chosen of each County of the kingdome, and one or more Burgesses of all cities and townes corporate men of the most fitt and commendable ranck and quality seruing as welle the respectiue degree as custome of the place and which are honored with the maior part of voyces, the time and place of their convencion is proclaymd by the king, and prolonged by him, or transfered into another place, yea and altogeather abrogated according to

his will; The princes or peeres are summond by a præcept vnder the kings owne hand; to the rest the high Sheriffe Mayor or Bayleife of each city or corporacion by a writt issued out of the Court of chancery which diuulgeth that the king woulde haue them choose vpon such a certaine day those that are to bee made choyse of for knights and Burgesses and the high sheriffe are to take care for the most conuenient time and place

The præcept of the kinge to the peeres runns thus

Charles by the grace of god &c. to our most reuerend father in Christ (soe hee calls the Bishopps) to his Cosen iff to the peeres, whereas by the aduice of our councell for certaine difficult weighty and vrgent affayres concerning the state and defence of our kingdome of England and church of England this our parliament att westminster haue ordayned to bee helde,: and there with you and the rest of the prælates, nobles and peeres of our said kingdome to haue conference and treaty in fidelity and endearednes (iff the writt bee to a Bishopp,:) by fidelity and allegeance (iff to the peeres) which you are bound to vs; wee command straictly enioyning you that considering the weightines and dangers imminent of the aforesaid matters all excuse whatsoeuer sett apart, you bee and personally appeare there the day and place aforesaid there sitting with vs the rest of the prælates nobles and peeres to treate vpon the aforesaid affayres and to giue your aduice, and

this as you loue vs, our honor and safety of our aforesaid kingdome and holy church you are in noe case to omitte the dispatch of these affayres (iff hee writes to the Bishopps) to admonish the Deane and chapter of your church and the whole clergye of your diocesse that these the Deane and archdeacons in their owne persons and the said chapter by one of the clergye by twoe fitt proctors hauing full and sufficient power from the chapter and clergye aforesaid bee with the rest personally the day and place aforesaid to consent to those things which then and there shall happen to bee ordayned (diuine mercye fauouring) concerning the common good of our kingdome witnes ourselfe &c.

The other præcept or writt to all high sheriffes and ciuill gouernors of cities and townes corporate runns thus

The king to the high sheriffe health. Whereas by the aduice and consent of our councell (and soe proceedes as aboue) and there with our prælates nobles and peeres of our kingdome to haue conference and treaty, wee command you,: straictly enioyning that proclamacion being made in your county after the receipt of the writt or breue of our parliament to bee helde the day and place aforesaid: that 2 knights girt with swords the most fitt and discreete of the aforesaid county and of euery citye of that county 2 citizens and of of euery corporation 2 burgesses of the most discreete and able ffreely and indifferently bee

chosen by them whoe shall bee present att this proclamacion according to the forme of the statutes and provisions in that behalfe heeretofore made; and that the names of those knights, citizens, and Burgesses bee inserted in certaine indentures made betweene you and those that shall bee present att the election of such soe elected as aforesaid, whether they bee present or absent, and that you cause them to come to the day and place aforesaid, soe that these knights haue full and sufficient power for themselues and the comunalty of the aforesaid county and the said citizens and burgesses for themselues and of the aforesaid cities and corporacions to doe and consent to those things which then and there (God willing) happen to bee ordayned by the common aduice of our kingdome vpon the affayres aforesaid,: soe that not for want of such power, or by imprudent election of the knights, citizens and burgesses the aforesaid matters shoulde remaine vndespatched,; nor woulde wee that you or any other high sheriffe of our sayd kingdome shoulde make any other manner of election.

These things being done euen to the minute scruples of the lawes first they goe the day prescribed to church afterwards to the place of conuencion or meeting, in their robes and in order and ceremonious gate such as may altogeather encrease the authority of their sitting in the common people; the king then entring the vpper howse or Senate either by himselfe or his Lord keeper or chancellor layes open the weighty causes of

this conuencion or meeting which with a more deepe prudence hee woulde haue them consider of by which way or meane they may produce in publicke most euident reasons for those things that are in doubt and as often as hee shall bee pleased hee is present in those councells but not that any necessity heereafter canne compell him, vnlesse in the end of a session that hee may adde strenght and efficacy to the determinacions of those lawes that shall be made;

The knights, citizens and burgesses in the lower howse are called alowde by their names by one designed for that county by the king,: and euery one of them are compelled to take the oath of allegeance in these wordes;

> I will keepe or beare true faith and allegeance to Charles by the grace of god of England &c. king and to his heyres and successors, and I will defend him and them to the vtmost of my power or strenght with the losse of my life and fortunes agaynst all conspiracies and endeauours agaynst his person, crowne, and dignity;

But least that any one thus brought to the high copartnershipp of the gouerment and these royall graunts and permissions with the king; shoulde forgett himselfe to bee a subiect; that hee bee the more contaynd in his duty the oath of supremacy is alsoe added in these wordes

> I a. b. my conscience bearing mee witnes doe professe and declare the kings maiesty to bee the only and chiefe gouernor of this kingdome and of all other countreies and kingdomes subiect to him as well of all persons, as mat-

ters, ecclesiasticall as ciuill soe that noe forraigne prince, Bishop, or state or power hath or ought to haue, any iurisdiction at all, power, eminency, præheminence, authority ecclesiasticall or ciuill in this kingdome, and therefore I altogeather and openly reiect and repudiate all forraigne iurisdictions whatsoeuer, powers, eminencies, præheminences and authorities and I entirely take myselfe to performe for euer due faith and observance to the kings maiesty his heyres and lawfull successors, and as much as in mee lies to defend and maintayne all and all manner of iurisdictions, priuiledges, præheminencies and authorities whatsoeuer either graunted or commended to the kings maiesty his heyres and successors or conioynd or annexed to the imperiall diadem of this kingdome &c. moreouer I promise that I doe not beeleiue the pope or any other power canne depriue the king of his right or absolue mee from the obligacion of this oath ;

Their mindes thus tied and setled to their duty, amongst other signes of newe honor they choose them a speaker, whome all of them accompany to the king, whose election they petition hee woulde bee pleased to ratifye,: which the king for the most part cheerefully doeth,: this being done the speaker giues him thancks in the name of all the lower howse, and beseecheth that itt may bee lawfull with his good leaue for the lower howse to vse their priuiledges, and liberty of dispute, that iff any one shoulde more earnestly deliuer his opinion in any matter whatsoeuer the

kings maiestye woulde not take it ill nor condescend soe farre as to bee angry,: that there may bee free accesse to the kings maiestye, or the vpper howse as often as occasion requireth,: which leaue being graunted they are dismissed ;

Itt is proper for either howse to dispute and treate of those thinges that are proposed from the king, or of making or abrogating lawes &c. and to committ their results to writing which is transmitted to one another by course by their messengers ; and then iff vpon dispute the same opinion is concurrant in their suffrages their consent is putt vpon the head of the writing with this forme amongst the peeres *Les seigneurs ont assentés*, but iff contrary or different as itt seldome happens that both consent in one, there are some chiefe select men of both howses which haue conference in a fitt place for conuencion or meeting togeather which they calle the painted chamber, the commons standing there with theire heads bare, the peeres sitting with their heads couered receaue them with a great deale of reuerence and theire both their opinions are layed open and iff they happen to differ which sometimes they are wont to doe the busines is layed aside,: but iff they agree the matter is carried to the king which iff hee approues of hee alsoe writes *Le Roy le veult* by which meanes itt receaueth life euen as the soule infused in the bodye ; and itt passeth into a powerfull lawe and anon is published to the people ; but when the king will not approue of those things that are offered to him hee is wont to write in the

top of the leafe *Le Roi auisera*, sometimes he denies them in termes which then are reputed as cast away and abolished; But the sacred affayres which more neerely requires the kings care, hee doeth not rashly permitt them to be treated on by the parliament but by the Sinode,: saue that by the parliaments authority they haue the force of lawes which they cannot sufficiently obtayne by diuine right,: the Deanes, Archdeacons, proctors for the chapters and for euery archdeaconry the first by the voyces of the præbends the other of the ministers being elected doe meete to dispute of these matters in a place to that purpose appointed (their prolequutor being first chosen) concerning the heads of religion, concerning ceremonies, and other thinges appertayning to the church,: alsoe they ordayne subsidies to be leuied for the king in the name of the clergye whose results are notwithstanding not obtruded vpon the Layety with the awfull authority of Lawes vntill as abouesaid they are approued by the assent of the king and both howses,: soe securely coutelous are kings least the ciuill authority shoulde be intermingled in these affayres, as itt is recorded in our Annalls that Elizabeth late queene of England expostulated with many of the parliament that they without her aduice and consent had proclaymed a fast, nor woulde shee suffer them to returne into her fauour vntill they had besought her pardon;

Both howses haue (that wee may returne agayne to the authority of parliament) their priuiledges apart; To the vpper howse belongeth this priui-

ledge not only to consult and lende itts helping hand to the making of lawes but alsoe to exercise the power of iudging and exacting of oaths especially in very weighty causes ; as in corruption of iudges and magistrates and the highest prouocations which to bring to the vtmost test is say the lawyers besides that which is lawfull and right without the kings permission and writt or letters patents, and that by custome is not receaved without the iudges of the lawe sitting ;

The howse of commons challengeth to ittselfe the priuiledges of supplicating and entreating for their right or else the part of actors neuer of a iudge, vnlesse within itts owne walls and amongst itts owne members and that extends not beyond imprisonment or a pecuniary mulct : soe farre was itt from the practice of old from giuing sentence (I say not capitall) in the name of the people, euen to the lowest seruant, that itt neuer arrogated to ittselfe the power of requiring an oath, : yea a statute remaynes amongst the parliament rolls : where the howse of commons humbly petition, : that whereas parliamentary iudgment belongs to the king and howse of peeres, but not vnto the commons vnlesse by the kings indulgence in their fauour, itt may please the kings maiestie that they may not bee retayned agaynst their customes to giue iudgment, the king commands that they bee free from thence forward from that burden, and that the parliamentary power of iudging shall heereafter belong only to the king and howse of peeres, : except this one priuiledge in compiling of statutes, in leauying of subsedies

and deliuering their sence or opinion, vnlesse alsoe where itt shall seeme good to the kings maiesty to require their councell and assent for the dispatching of those affayres that will proffitt the kingdome in generall;

Moreouer iff any doubt or controuersy shall arise about the election of the members of the lower howse,: itt was the manner or custome of old to determine itt not by the commons in their owne howse, but by the peeres in the vpper howse, or by the iudges in the kings Court of Chancery; alsoe iff any of them departed from the parliament without leaue first obtayned of the king and both howses, they did stand att the tribunal or cheife iudgment seate of the kings councell, or the kings inferior courts to suffer punishment for the neglect of his duty and was not punished att the will of their owne senate or howse; this furthermore (that I may agayne returne to their priuiledges) itt is peculiar to the howse of commons that they shoulde first determine or ordayne the leuying of moneys of the people;

By all which is apparent the wonderful temperament of our Monarchy wherein both king, Senate and people haue their parts in gouerning of affayres but so disioynd and fitly corrected that the commonwealth may feele the peculiar helpe of each but not the mischeife of either,: for all the prærogatiue of the king with which he carries the cheifest empire togeather with the sworde is thus farre vsefull, that hee may haue sufficient strenght to vindicate the lawes from factions of

the great ones, and tumults of the people,: whilst in the meane time the nobles excell in this, that they haue the cheife authority of iudging and præscribing the lawes and by this putt a stay to the tumultuous communalty, and tiranny (iff there shall any rage) of the king, nor is there lesse power in the people *videlicet* of accusing any man and leuying of money and denying itt which may sufficiently curbe the ouermuch liberty of the nobles and councellors of the king, and may cutt of the nerves of the prince from too much encroaching vpon the publick; with the cheifest care of the lawes itt is prouided that not by feare or the insolency of wicked men the freedome of dispute in giuing their suffrages might bee any way hindered; soe that they seuerely forbidde any one to walke with a sword throwgh the court or next confines where they are sitting or any other weapon that may carry terror with itt or that may lessen the reuerence of the place,: alsoe the members of the parliament and their necessary servants during the parliament are customarily freed from the apprehension of serieants in seizing vpon any of them with violent hands for debt or lesser faults, yet the priuiledge of parliament frees none guilty of the breach of the peace, murder, or fellony, from the ordinary proceedings of iustice: yea iff itt happen by the imprudence or ouersight of the magistrate or serieants any member of the howse of commons or their servants happen to be apprehended, not without a writt (the cause first declared) out of the kings court of chancery canne be freed by our lawes

With soe great modesty both howses in former times were wont to contayne themselues within their walls or howses that iff any member had vnaduisedly offended agaynst the receaved customes, or had spoken anything vnseemely of the king, the offence coulde not bee expiated without condigne punishment for the fault, the very howse ittselfe requiring iustice of itts owne members; and seldome did kings doe anything vnlesse for weighty causes that might create offence to soe honourable an assembly; notwithstanding it hath come to passe that the best princes too much prouoked haue reprehended the whole parliament and sometimes haue required some of the parliament men to appeare before the iudges of the kingdome to bee punished: and mulcted others with imprisonment, money and death;

With these ancient customes and men the affayres of England were established and flourished for many ages past, happy att home and glorious abroad vntill too much felicity (as of all other mortall thinges,) brought on luxury togeather with a glutt or deluge of vices, pride, ambition and contempt of diuine and humane thinges, vntill a great libidinous thirst to snatch away one anothers possessions so inuaded the hearts of men with mutuall æmulacion and enuy to destroy and ouerturne both king, religion, and lawes, rather then preserue them;

Of late wicked men (and those att first very fewe) whoe insinuated themselues in the lower howse desirous of newe thinges beginne to arrogate to themselues vnheard of priuiledges to inter-

meddle more then neede in busines euen where they were noe way concerned, to intangle themselues with cares which peraduenture was most vnfitt for them,: to rage more insolently, and att lenght to inveigh agaynst the power of the king to quæstion his right in the shipps (which before the kings continually enioyed) and finally to denye them to the king, yea to offer force vnto the Lord-keeper with drawne swords and that euen within the very walls of the lower howse, treading vpon all ancient modesty and all reuerence of kingly maiesty; the most sacred customes of the kingdome and priuiledges of parliament;

Hence arise mutuall dissemblings, hence suspicions, the king to lessen the liberties of parliament, the parliament to derogate from the kingly maiesty: for this cause the king putts an end to one and a second parliament, sooner then a great many woulde (but not beyond the example of his ancestors) hee corrects the petulancy of some by imprisonment, and for a while forbeares to summon a newe parliament, whereby their spiritts might bee appeased and that they might bring with them greater modesty and grauity to those most graue assemblies;

But from hence these diligent and most crafty men take a more precious occasion to disperse their leauen through England: saying that itt is nowe the time to act for religion and to crye out for the publicks libertye, euery where complayning that the lawes are in extreme danger,: and this with the credulous with an eare prone to newe practices, alwaies listening to the calumnies

of the most powerfull, they easily hope to begett a perswasion; they reuile the kingly maiesty, as that hee is too vxorious unwise or a foole, addicted to the popish religion, coueteous and what other name they canne finde that was more hatefull to the people; they defame all thinges hee doeth, though proceeding from the best councell, burden them with suspicions, and wrest them into the worst sence, and wonderfully aggrauate all misfortunes and faylings, yea and most vniustly taxe his hard fortune;

Amongst so many complaints and vociferations iff you demand what reall mishapp befell vs, euen in the selfe same state, iff not more flourishing were the British affayres then they were before,: proude and lofty buildings euery where arise both publick and priuate not onely to the viewe but euen vnto riott; merchandise more spreading euery day and more gainefull; the borders of the countrey nowe remoued to both the Indies; only in this vnhappy, that with their riches they brought with them from afarre more strange crimes; moreouer arts flourish in the Academy, in the courts, in the shoppes neuer in a more glittering showe; the inhabitants wax rich and neuer more proude; iustice is adminstred according to the præscript of the lawes; nor is any one depriued of his substance or life, vnlesse by the iudgment of those to whome they ought to bee most deare *videlicet* twelue men of their owne rancke: all the affayres of the kingdome soe gouerned as iff they conspired to a generall good,: except out of this toomuch felicity they coulde

not represse the inbred insolency; vnlesse alsoe (wich is not to bee dissembled) that the chance of warr hapenning to bee most vnfortunate to vs abroad (being soe long vnexpert,:) and att home some impositions (although something moderate and which publicke necessity and not the vayne stretchings foorth of the lawes did commend; the provoked Comunalty complayne that the property of the subiect is destroyed, and more seuere punishments (att least for those halcion daies) *videlicet* imprisonment, loss of eares (although but of fower or fiue seditious persons the starre chamber iudges inflicted,: The toomuch abounding power and censure of the ecclesiasticall courts moued as well the anger, as the pity of many; This company of malecontents certaine scrupolous men augmented whoe suspected ceremonies to bee brought in to the diuine worshipp as the vsherers of popery,: this the ouer hasty zeale of the Archbishop encreased by introducing the booke and practice of the english liturgye into the church of Scotland,: but truely with a comendable intention (for soe hee beeleued) that three bordering nations vnder the gouerment of one king might bee conioyned in one and the same conformity of worshipp in the seruice of god,: but with the worst euent, sence from hence sudden tragedies, and tumults, afterwards warr and invasion arise,: a wicked fancy of religion animating them and certaine turncoate English whoe watched to trouble affayres priuately pricking them forward;

The king that hee might represse this tumult

of the Scotts without a newe tumult calls a parliament,: but when a desire of tumults alsoe posest that hee dissolues itt: but a litle after repenting his aduice he calles another parliament and earnestly applies himselfe to the pacifying of all mens mindes, and studies as itt were to satiate the desires of the most desirous: and graunts more in the time of this one parliament for the benefitt of the Commonwealth (I woulde I coulde not say to the desires of his enemies) then his father grandfather or all his ancestors in long and frequent parliaments had done before, in which with a mutuall liberality those princes were wont to contende as itt were with their subiects; Amongst other this grand fauour, which one while wee bragge of another while complayne of, greater then any in the rancke of all aboue itt, and the most sad pressure of after times; The graunt first of the triennial parliament out of the chancery vpon prefixt or sett times without the kings command enioyning itt Anon they petitioning him that they might haue time to defray the moneyes borrowed vpon the publicke faith, and that they might transmitt those established indulgent priuiledges to posterity,: hee was soe confident of them that hee lefte the dissolucion of the present parliament att the pleasure of both howse as itt were to recompence them for the long intermission of parliaments with the euerlastingnes of this; which as some interpreted as an argument of the cheifest candor towards his subiects or att leastwise of a minde noe way meditating of force or armes

towards them; but these guilefull men whoe att that time flourished in the vizard of patriotts, cast in soe many scruples and suspicions amongst the more vnwary and lesse wise (which is easy to bee done in popular councells where some succeede to others that beganne and seeke knots in bulrushes not that any malice peraduenture lieth in their mindes but they shoulde seeme lesse quick then others or to bee wanting to the commonwealth) Thus displeasures and grudgings like the heads of Hidra arise and more variances and debates from the kings desire of pleasing them: his concessions doe rather kindle and encrease their thirst then any way fill their crauing appetites; soe that nowe they coulde not soe escape the more quicksighted that these good men were not soe much the assertors of the parliaments priuiledges and procurers of the peace of the commonwealth as incendiaries to ouerturne the kingly maiesty and to builde themselues steppes to the highest pitch of power,: which whenas they perceaued was smelt out by the king and those that had a greater care of the publicke affayres nor that they coulde in the parliament obtayne their opinions to bee owned by suffrages with free scanning,: or coulde expect the kingly assent; they then turne themselues to force; they prouoke the people by their emissaries that in a great multitude they woulde come prepared with armes to the parliament, yet in shewe of petitioners, as to petition some fauour, nor doe the multitude lesse readily obeye,: they terrifye with threates and entring the parliament howses they cast out

by violent handes many of the lower howse, some of the nobles of the vpper howse, as many as dissented from the opinion of the noualists (whome they lowdely calle well affected whome they adore and are mutually by them adored agayne) they calle by their names, that they may teare them aliue in peeces; they fixe others names vpon the posts; yea more insolently doeth this rude company rage against the king himselfe, whome they command and beseege att his owne howse;

Many of the members thus terrified altogeather abstayne from parliament, and soe by that meanes are awed by a more powerfull faction, others that were present growne fearefull of their liues durst not freely giue their votes; soe that from that time all the authority of parliament seemed to bee out of date, sence that the common people challenged to themselues the right of voting; itt was nowe manifest that these thinges did tend to sedition; nor was itt lesse cleare, that the multitude was stirred vpp not only by the assent and conniuence or nodde as wee say but alsoe by the machination and craft of many that sate in both howses; The king therefore that hee may meete and more maturely nippe those commocions in the budde accuseth fiue of the howse of commons and one of the peeres of high treason and commands that they shoulde bee brought to iudgment and the matter to bee tried before the iudges of the kingdome the crime in debate being proued according to the lawes of England; These men, the faction nowe more largely spreading ittselfe

(euen amongst many honest men religiously carefull least they shoulde seeme to receede from their priuiledges) the whole lower howse takes into their patronage, nor will they heare the king though hee acted but the part of a petitioner or actor: but rather accuse him crying out that force inuaded the priuiledges of parliament, nor will the howse suffer any one of their members to be brought before the iudgment seate, or to be called away by accusations from the cares of the Commonwealth; and that the iudges of the kingdome shoulde bee degraded being guilty of basenes; by which the king being more moued perswaded by his councell and some alsoe of the parliament, hastens vnto westminster Hall guarded with a hundred more or lesse nobles and gentlemen and their servants,: commanding that not any of them shoulde ascende the steppes or reproach any member of the howse though prouoked,: hee alone with the prince palatine of Rhone entreth into the lower howse and requires that these incendiaries bee deliuered into his handes, and promiseth that hee woulde trye them according to the knowne lawes,: but these being forewarned (as itt was reported) by the endeauours of Marquesse of Hamilton and a noble woeman whoe before for her beauty,: nowe for her gifts of minde carried in shewe the offices of another sexe withdrewe themselues, wherefore the accused being got away priuily hee returnes agayne without offering iniury or hurt to any and quietly passed by the cause of contention, and that hee might mollifye the exasperated mindes

of men somewhat retracts and as itt were acknowledgeth itt to bee a fault; but these men laying holde vpon this occasion which did continually watch all opportunities of casting in fire brands to inflame mens mindes, they wonderfully aggrauate this as an insolent act of the kings, and carry headlong the mindes of the vnwise euerywhere throwing about the manifest embers of dissension euen to the putting of the whole kingdome into a flame;

The accused lye hidde in the city of London for a month space, vntill a great part of the city may bee formed into an army furnished with armes to wayte vpon these guilty men for their safeguard to the two howses of parliament; the king then timely prouiding by flight for his safety and maiesty (the only meanes hee coulde then make vse of) withdrewe himselfe to the castle of windsor,: and afterwards contentions and dangers more sensibly creeping on, the Queene being commanded into parts beyond the seas, the prince being sent for, (whom the nouators in the name of the parliament endeauoured to intercept) hee betakes himselfe to yorke; but first letters are sent to the parliament wherein the king perswadeth them with all the reasons (that hee conceaued expedient) to bee entred into for peace, that whatsoeuer itt were they did soe earnestly desire to bee graunted or done they woulde expresse itt in writing, what the parliament what the people coulde challenge to themselues, what alsoe to bee attributed to the king and that they woulde define them without circumstance and hee religiously

professeth that hee woulde noe more diminish their peculiar rights then his owne; moreouer hee woulde most willingly giue his assent and assistance to all that might restore the rights of the commonwealth and create a perfect peace;

This æquity notwithstanding of a most mercifull king they doe not only despise but the lower howse excepts agaynst with reproaches as iff contrary to the priuiledges of parliament nowe wholly enslaued to the will of these nouators, growne swellingly insolent by the power of the common people: it cannot be sayd howe much these men att leastwise in shewe were affrighted or waxed pale att these admonitions to peace, as vnto newe approaching dangers or att a snake lying hidde in the grasse, crying out that they were nowe in the highest pitch of danger, nor without extreme necessity did they petition the power of ordering the whole militia of the kingdome from the king; (saying that only in this coulde they be secure to enter into councells vpon those matters that were proposed from the king;) which hee denying they possesse by force; this was the spring head of our calamities this blewe the trumpett to our strifes,: whilst the king endeauours to defende his ancient right they on the other side to snatch itt away; the warr is begunne;

They contend awhile by apologies but when the king was growne superior with his penne by the opinion of the men carrying the victory, they descend vnto the sword; itt was easy for the factions enioying London to prepare themselues for warr; where soe many multitudes of

men abundantly desirous of newe thinges, might bee sent abroad to the raysing and filling vpp of an army; there was soe many armes soe great an oportunity of commerce, and soe great a quantity of money, soe many sorts of torments were att hand, and whoe did diuulge in their declarions soe many precious causes (for which it might seeme comely euen to dye;) soe many honest markes or watchwords they inscribe in their ensignes, with which they more vehemently incite the mindes of men, then with their trumpets and drummes; *videlicet* to defend the kings person, and to deliuer him from the handes of euill councellors, to vpholde the priuiledges of parliament, to preserue the religion established, to protect the lawes and the ancient gouerment of England; yea they protest they take vpp armes to defende their very howses and fires and inuite all to their assistance; with which some of the parliament being allured (and not a litle tickled with hope to enioye as their iust inheritance the best reuenues of the Bishopps and Deanes, and parsonages or benifices, of the dissenting clergye) whoe were retayned with a desire of the præsbytoriall gouerment in the church, for this reason create an assembly, by which they may promulgate the gospell of peace; the people moreouer being as itt were greatly stung with the breeze with another hope of a golden age and temporall kingdome of the Messiah, gather euery where a great quantity of coyned money, and siluer plate, and bring it with great contention, the care of their families being wholly layd aside,: the woeman

euen altogeather with an vnheard of example cast into the treasury their golden rings and pledges of marriage; the men with æmulation offer themselues to this as itt were holy warre; by which meanes the Army encreased to about 20000 men bifore the king had mustered 500 in his owne defence; and they possessd more ordinance, then hee musketts; with the same labor and facility do they possesse the nauy,: ouer the land militia they place the Earle of Essex,: ouer the sea forces the Earle of warwick; To the pay of the Army (I say not to their owne benefitt) besides the profuse largesses of the people, they violently snatch away the goods of those noblemen and gentleman whome they finde affected to the king; they lay hands in the name of sequestracion vpon all the reuenewes of the Bishopps, prince, Queene and of the king himselfe, that the kings maiesty might truely complayne there was scarse soe much left as to buy him foode; nor seemed they nowe to haue omitted anything saue to advance their ensignes and to lay hands vpon the king, which they doubt not to promise to themselues within a moneths space; but it pleased god otherwise to determine itt,: for the deceite coulde not soe lye hidde, but that the greatest part by much of the nobles and peeres of the vpper howse went ouer to the kings side, and almost an æquall number of the lower howse: and whoe farre excelled the rest, as well in amplitude of possessions, as natiue splendor; yea amongst those that withdrewe not themselues from London very many priuately fauoured the

kings cause: alsoe many gentlemen and plebeians throwghout all the prouinces of the kingdome; with the assistance of these and his proper authority, (which like the sunne in eclipse drewe a multitude of spectators) and with the pity of many others (whoe were exceedingly ashamed to beholde the head of the kingdome deiected in that sort as to flye from the seate of the empire, to yorke; from yorke to notingham, from Notingham to Salop, and the confines of wales,: (fower moneths and more as a wanderer and an exile long and in vayne did hee implore the allegiance and ayde of his subiects;) Att lenght the king gathers a litle army and afterwards greater forces the people more readily flocking to the ayde of the king,: on whose side they nowe beleeued the safety of the commonwealth to depend; the Queene also subministing money and armes, which shee had purchased by the pawne of some iewells; for which dutifull office to her husband shee is accused by the factious for a Traitor;

Whilst these cloudes shadowe the skye att home a direfull tempest abroad thunders vpon the heads of the English (which sence itt hath not a litle influence vpon our affayres) I must not lett slippe as altogeather vnknowne; but I must begge the reader for a litle while to passe ouer with mee into Ireland; The Irish because vpon them the yoake of the English alwaies lay heauy, and in whome was deepely setled from their natiuity, and encreased by æmulation, the great affection of the popish religion: long watching an occasion that might offer ittselfe whereby they might

shake of the one and affect the other,: had long sence fashioned a mischeife in their mindes; beholde by a sudden conspiring of the whole nation, (and which was more wonderfull uery priuate,) they rush vpon the English scatterd throwgh Ireland, not dreaming of any such thing and depriue them of their substance, and possessions, sacrifizing a hundred and fifty thowsand of them more or lesse (noe regard had of age, sexe, friendship, or affinity) as soe many offertories or humane victimes to their dire superstition; itt wanted but a litle (saue that the conspiracy being detected at Dublin which is the metropolis and some others more wary in other places opposing themselues to this sudden tempest hauing taken armes) but that with the same torrent the name of the English had been extinguished throwgh Ireland,: The late successe of the Scotts animated the peeres and Irish masse-preists (whoe were the cheife in raysing this tragædy) into this heynous attempt; whoe (that I may vse the very wordes of a cheife man whoe in the beginning of the parliament was of the kings sacred councell of Ireland afterwards fauoured the parliament part and was admitted a member of parliament) their affayres being well and happily carried on, gayned by their late mocions very great immunities or freedomes from the king; Adde to these our homebred tumults, which seemed to permitt a liberty of Insurrection there, to whome itt was easy to guesse sence the English being already Intangled, and but lightly endued with the care and prudence of ciuill affayres, there woulde bee but a

small feare of a reuenge from them that were to bee transported, for defence of those inhabitants where neither they nor their ancestors were borne tenants; The absence alsoe and late death of the Lord leiutenant of Ireland encreased this their boldenes (the death of a singularly prudent man,: and most likely to stifle the seede of rebellion in their first mocions) whome the Irish peeres whilst they medidated of rebellion, as alsoe the parliament zealots heere obiecting I knowe not what wicked councells, and more cruell deedes, prosequuted euen vnto the death by a lawe made after the offence and not heereafter to bee made vse of without consent of parliament (which notwithstanding by the threates and clamors of the people and the more powerfull faction of the 2 howses the king was compelled to establish and which the Lord Leiuetenant desired att leastwise permitted;) lastly to these already raging and prouoked the importune dissolucion of the Irish army of 8000 men appointed to the Scottish expedition more enflamed,: of which 4000 the king hauing made peace with the Scotts (least they shoulde practise newe matters in Ireland) permitted to be transported by the Spanish embassador Don Alonso of Cordoua; which hee (the first concession being made voyde) encreased to a greater number by many thowsands; The cheife and inferior colonells being authorized by commands of parliament and permitted that fauour for their paies due vnto them that euery of them as their fancy lead them might passe ouer with their regiments into what countreys they

pleased,: and thereupon a bargayne was made betweene the aforesaid embassador and those colonells for the hiring of whome and for their dayly sustentacion after he had spent 30000£ (as the embassador complayned and is well knowne to many) and had made ready shipps which hee hired to carry ouer those souldiers ready to loose from the hauen; all these that the embassador had procured with soe great expence of money and with vnwearied paynes, are suddenly and craftily detayned vpon the Downes by the parliament vpon this grownde as itt was beleeued that the king of Spayne thus prouoked the king of England might bee rendred hatefull to him,: whereby (when occasion did require) hee might bee altogeather left destitute of the ayde of the Spaniards,:

With these I say and soe great opportunities of fishing in troubled waters, the Irish peeres and masse preists being allured whereby they might lessen the strengt of the English that inhabited there and make feeble their mindes,: and that they may stirre vpp the popular sorte into slaughters and rapines, they actiuely endeauour by all waies whatsoeuer; amongst others they bragge of the Queenes presence with their forces, and that the king woulde come with an army, that the Scotch had made a league with them and that they may gayne the more credite, they giue out that itt was euen to the slaughter of the English; they afterwards forbeare from prouoking the Scotts, saying that they had the kings commission; (shewing a forged commission at ffarne Abby, many

preists and peeres meeting there togeather, made by one plunkett, as afterwards itt appeared by the confession of many) and that they mainetayned the kings cause agaynst the puritans; Amongst their owne they produce letters by which they learnt from England that there was a decree lately sett foorth whereby all the Irish shoulde bee compelled to be present att the sacred seruices of the protestants, the first neglect to bee punished with losse of goods, the second their inheritance, and the third life; and gaue them hope of libertie, and of their ancient customes, to shake of the yoake of the English, to choose them a king of their owne nation, and that all the goods and possessions of the English should bee distributed amongst them; with this propertye of hope and expectation of pray as desire of liuing in the mindes of posterity, the Irish being inticed into the fellowshipp of a warre, are soe furiously bent, and doe committ soe great mischeifes as scarse any age heeretofore euer heard of; The noise of wich being spread abroad through England, itt was to bee admired, how great a desire possest them of reuenge for the Inhabitants that were soe perifideously murthered, as howe great a zeale to preserue those that remayned aliue; accordingly moneys are heaped vpp in a short time for pay for sowldiers and to prouide armes to 300000£ sterling,: many thowsands of English addresse themselues to the warre, but soe great vnfortunacy, or rather diuine vengeance hung ouer our nation or else from hence our owne grudges grewe which was wont very much

to procure peace to others though the deadliest enemies amongst themselues; Hence those that were sedulously desirous of newe thinges with I knowe not what scruples and suspicions earnestly pricking men forward (sufficiently prone of themselues to beleeue the worst) prævayle with the parliament that the warre shoulde not bee caried on vnder the kings conduct nor any of those souldiers that fauoured the king or had well deserued in the Scottish expedition shoulde intermixe themselues in this warre; they obtrude factious persons and lesse acceptable to the king into the managery of this warre: for which cause the king appoints the Army to bee ledde by his owne person against the rebells; and that by the right of waging warre heeretofore accustomed hee is ready and with right by the lawes and customes of the kingdome to bee committed to him; Butt att lenght att leastwise in courtesie receeding, desirous iff itt might bee with lesse power of gouerning of affayres to ouercome the most æmulous, the king consents that the warre shoulde bee carried on by his and the parliaments authority iointly, and that the princely letters patents and commissions shoulde bee graunted foorth in the name of king and parliament,:

Butt the waues of contention were not soe appeased: for not long after the sparkes of ciuill warre breaking throwgh England, the parliament ceazeth vpon a 100000£ that was leauyed in the name of the Irish warre, and conuerts 2 or 3 legions of sowldiers raysed to suppresse the Rebells there, to oppresse the king heere,: moreouer they

doubt not to transferre the Almes petitioned for towards the ayde of the perishing protestants to pay their owne souldiers; On the other side the kings sowldiers violently take away the Armes sent from the parliament towards Chester; which as soone as they crye out to him was destined for Ireland, he takes care that they bee disposed for the vse of that kingdome;

The parliament neuerthelesse (that they mighte encrease their owne reputacion by the kings infamy) very light suspicions being produced in publick blush not to calle the king author of the rebellion of Ireland which was raysed agaynst him; but the trueth and which was supported with stronger reasons the kings maiesty retorts vpon them togeather with the guilt and infamy; These remoras notwithstanding hindred not but that our auxiliaries euery where putt the Irish to flight and dispossesse them by firings and depræ-dacions sending to Hell (by slaughter) some hundred thowsands of the natiues to celebrate the funeralls of the English,: but togeather with this they bring solitude farre and neare, which was not lesse iniurious to themselues then to the natiues; for the warres growing hott in England, prouision, armes, apparell, pay, and all necessaries, fayling to the sowldiery, and for want of these the sowldiers being enfæbled, itt is scarse to bee related howe great miseries others suffered in Ireland whoe for a long while strugling (and often times euen to hoarsnes crying but in vayne to the parliament for ayde) att lenght they write letters to the king whoe were of the kings sacred

councell in Ireland and the leaders of the sowldiers yea and the very sowldiers themselues, whoe doe vehemently desire to bee called vnto other warres, where they might fight with any enemye but that of hunger;

The king att lenght being reduced to an vnequall condicion of fight with the English parliamenteers, the Scotch auxiliary forces being brought to the parliaments campe: on the one side compelled by his owne necessity, on the other side by the earnest prayers and entreaties of his subiects hee commands that truce bee made with the Irish for a yeare that by this breathing time of peace soe that itt might bee establishd with æquall condicions, itt might bee a little refreshed; The truce being made and as many sowldiers as woulde suffice to manne the garisons being left behinde the rest of the sowldiers returne out of Ireland vnto the kings assistance (whose fortune with the parliamenteers did manifestly shake;) The Scotts notwithstanding which posessed the greatest part of the prouince of Ulster refuse to be tied to the truce, as alsoe some fewe English in Connaught and Ulster with whome the Scotts had frequent commerce,: a litle after the Lord of Inchiquene whoe commanded in cheife ouer the forces in Munster hauing brought ouer some thowsands to the kings ayde, whenas hee seemed not to haue been answerably gratified with his dignity and meritt, withdrawing himselfe priuately into Ireland drewe first Corke afterwards the whole prouince of Munster euen as much as was in the power of

the English vnto the parliament side and in detestacion of the truce they foortwith sending priuately to his and the Scotts ayde forces, money, and prouision of victualls;

On the other side the Irish vnder the command of the popes Legate and Owen Roe a most deadly enemye to the nation, being equally impatient of the name as of the gouerment of the English,: oppose themselues to the rest of the more moderate natiues vnder the conduct of præston and Taffe whoe not complying with them endeauoured to enter into peace with the king; to these they rehearse the Bull of the pope agaynst peace and the truce and by that meanes endeauour to affright the sowldiers from their fidelity and ensignes; Hence the truce being trod vnderfoote, they flye euerywhere to armes whereby itt came to passe that there was a necessity for the Marquesse of Ormond (the kings Leiutenant there) alone to defend himselfe and his from the English and Scotch one the one side and from the Irish on the other side; Butt att lenght the kings forces being scattered in England, the Irish rebells pressing Dublin with a seige,: the Marquesse not able to endure a continuall seige (condicions being made) hee helde itt more honest to deliuer vpp Dublin and whatsoeuer else stood for the king in Ireland to the parliament, then to permitt the English and the protestants to diuolue into the power of the Irish;

And nowe almost after a yeares space the king being deliuered to prison,: when the Nouators

had cutt of all hope of renewing peace, or restoring liberty to the king, by their votes of noe addresse to the king; (of which more att large heereafter:) furnished with newe instructions and dignified with the title of Lord Leiutenant of Ireland foorthwith Ormond returnes into Ireland being commanded that with the best peace hee coulde make, he shoulde associate the Scotch, English, and Irish; To whome the Lord Inchiquene as soone as the Regicide was made knowne to him ioynes himselfe with as many as obeyed his command; The Irish alsoe vnder the ensignes of præston and Taffe whoe were not altogeather auerse from the former truce doubt not to aduance their following collours; The Scotts first forbeare from hostilityes, they cease not notwithstanding to make warre agaynst the Common enemie,: and giue hopes that att lenght they will consociate with the Marquesse; To conclude Jones gouernor of Dublin as of the parliament forces there (the same men whoe proseqeuted with dire reproaches the peace entred into with the papists by Ormond, as iff they had acted for religions sake) are taken in the same embraces of the Babilonish whore, with Owen Rowe the generall of the Rebells, growne infamous in the slawghters and bloud of the english, and a most sworne enemy of protestants, to these monsters that not long sence were to bee extirpated they blush not to lincke themselues in an intimate league and to ioyne their sociable ensignes;

From others destructions (yet not altogeather

strangers vpon which you are pleased to subiect your contemplacions to a single aspect, although the subiect bee of the most contentious times, yet itt will bee as necessary, as vsefull often to digresse) wee returne to our owne raging with greater and more apert battells, although with lesser destruction and perfideousnes slowly burning on (which addes more greife with the fuell of a more continuing miserye; for truely for a long time and with various warre, and in diuers places is itt fought for the principall and cheife thing betweene the king and parliaments forces (by this name heereafter of the parliament are to bee vnderstood they whoe occupye the seates in the howses of parliament although inferior to the number that departed which notwithstanding the kings partye owne with noe other title then that of Rebells and Traytors,) I say they fight with diuers fortune, vntill shee fauouring the kings party the parliamenteers openly loose courage and the champions of the faction euery day falle from their side; The parliament men brought into these streights inuite the Scotts into the fellowship of the warre, and that they may reuiue the coole opinion the kings people had though not yet quite extinct of their zeale to the publicke good and purity of religion,: And in the meane space may cunningly bereaue them of their money, they runne to their knowne arts, they frame lies agaynst the king and his party, and disperse them abroad among the people,: as iff the king shoulde intende absolute tiranny, and that hee woulde confiscate the possessions of all

that were agaynst him, and subiugate their persons or only fate woulde hinder itt; for thus they perswade the common people that the kings sowldiers were accustomed to mans flesh, and to devour itt among their banquetts, they offer to iustice some principall sacrifices,: (for soe greedy a desire of reuenge and earnest endeauours of pleasing the common people that were ignorant of affayres with bloudy spectacles were in those times) of which number was william Lawde Archbishopp of Canterbury; both the Hothams, father and sonne, the father a knight; Carewe alsoe a knight all cheife colonells of the sowldiers were beheaded,: The first condemned by their iudgment of Treason; The later founde guilty by the censure of a councell of warre of betraying their military affayres; nor canne any wonder that the Archbishop was thus punished by them whome they desperately hated, and vpon whome the enuy of all Scotland and England was vpon,: but itt was beyond expectacion that itt was turned vpon their owne cheife officers whoe were the prime troublers in the parliament, and whoe first tooke vpp armes agaynst the king; (very fewe of them at the first daring to committ soe great an offence:) and violently withhelde from the king, by trust of parliament 2 of the strongest maritime garrisons vpon which depended the greatest moment of the warre att that time *videlicet* Hull and plimmouth, the one keeping the kings Armory, (the other the most commodious port towne or Hauen;) They proclayme publick prayers and fastings, and institute

Thancksgiuing daies, euen for very small victories; They devote publickly with great solemnity to the fire, the tables wherein were painted the pictures of our Saviour Christ; the Virgin mary, his mother, or the Saincts as to a newe martirdome; The signes of the cross and great square stones, wherein they or the pictures of the Saints were engrauen, although in the most eminent streets of London, as well for ornament as for vse, they demolish and pull downe: Episcopacye and the Liturgye (the contrary of which they vowed not long sence to establish in their divulged declaracions) they declare to be altogeather abrogated: and introduce a newe ecclesiasticall gouerment with the Directory; and a sinode by their authority is gathered from all the prouinces of men very zealows and skilfull in preaching (but for the most part of litle learning and haters of the ecclesiasticall gouerment) they commend to be elected,: nor doe they permitt matters freely to bee disputed by these beyond the bowndes by them placed;

The Scotts being lately incensed by the Bishopps of England, and fearing least the king showlde nowe triumph over the parlimenteers: peraduenture alsoe desirous of the pray consent,: Articles being made (amongst which the cheifest which for itts shewe of honesty did procure glosse and fauour) that nothing was intended of hurt to the kings person nor anything done of deceite to the rights of his crowne or his heyres) an oath being entred into by them as alsoe by the members of the parliament, and obtruded vpon all the Inhabitants of both kingdomes vnder

their power, which they calle the Nationall league and Couenant, In which they promise, That according to the calling and office which they helde, they will maintayne the reformed religion of the church of Scotland according to its doctrine, worshipp, discipline, and gouerment; that they will reforme religion in the kingdomes of England and Ireland according to the doctrine, worshipp, displine and gouerment which was nearest to the word of god, and the example of the best reformed churches,: and that they will reduce to their power the churches in these 3 kingdomes to the straightest consent and vniformity; that they will extirpate popery, prælacy, superstition, and impiety; That they will præserue the rights and priuiledges of parliament in both kingdomes, and the liberties of the kingdomes,: and that they will protect the kings maiestyes person and authority (in the præservacion of the true protestant religion and the libertye of the kingdomes;) that all the world may witnes with their consciences theyre fidelity to the king, and that there was noe minde or intention in them to lessen the amplitude and power that was due to the kings maiesty; That they will detect all incendiaries and malignants (with these titles they dazzled all whoesoeuer fauoured the kings part) that they may haue deserued punishment; that they will endeauour a firme and perpetuall peace betweene the 2 kingdomes,: and that they will mutually defend each other that haue bound themselues in this couenant and will constantly remain in itt;

The Independents were not the latest authors of making this couenant with the Scotts, as they were the cheifest and most bitter in compelling whomsoeuer was vnwilling or refused to take this Oath, : although very many of them abstayned from itt least by that meanes they shoulde bee tied to the defence of the kings person ; nor doe I thincke fitt to lett this passe ouer in silence,: The league or nationall couenant as itt came out from the Scotch Anuile did make mencion simply of defending the kings person, but the condicion was added by our men of the lower howse of parliament against the sence and tenor of the oath, : the Independents alsoe bringing in that glosse or deceite with this veyle or curtayne, that there was sufficient respect had and consideracion of the kings safety in other Oaths, : and that their repeated promise in this will but confirme the kings minde agaynst the parliament, : and will burden the mindes of people with scruples agaynst the obedience of parliament, but in truth it was to make way (all obstacles as much as might bee being remoued) to committ that regicide which then they did meditate in their mindes

These things thus finished betweene the Scotch and the English, those whoe suffered themselues *bonâ fide* to bee tied by this oath carried the name of præsbiterians : and hauing got the gouerment of all affayres, (other factions of lesser note being subservient to them) these cruelly rage agaynst all dissenters, : all whoe refused to bee obliged by this sacred couenant, although they acted

nothing before agaynst the parliament faction, Although they had withhelde from them noe tributes or impositions, yea of their free will had contributed money to the pay of the parliament forces,: (especially those ministers of the church whoe enioyed rich benefices) were depriued of their howses, goods and revenewes by the name of sequestracion; many they shutt vpp in prison for many yeares (yea some in shippes in the riuer of Thames and that in the extreme hott summer) the cause not heard nor any accusation produced,: they spend them out with heate, watchings and fastings, this cruelty and barbarisme the parlimenteers execuute by select men in euery county and city whome they called committees;

From the religion of this couenant (that I may returne thither from whence I have digressed) the sonnes their fathers, the servants their masters, the wiues their husbands, are taught to accuse and spoyle (att least they gaynsaying, to withdrawe their due offices; for these causes, many agaynst the dictates of their consciences rather take the oath then submitt to a halter, and whether that they thought themselues obnoxious to the king or that they laboured with conscience of the oath, have addicted themselues to the parliament side;

Agaynst this couenant many learned and religious men euery where arise publishing or setting foorth treatises swelling vpp into whole volumes,: (amongst which the Oxford iudgment of itt is published in latine an irrefragable worke;)

these did pull itt in peeces because contrary to diuine and humane lawes,: the præsbiterians opposing nothing except force and clubb arguments;

With these vshering artifices præparing before hand an entrance into England, 20000 Scotts armed issuing in vpon the northerne parts, vndertake the warre for the parliament cause; but first of all commissioners are sent to the king, whoe admonish him (whoe of his owne accord is prone enough) to returne into fauour with the parliament, and propose themselues as iudges of the controuersye, whome whenas the king did repudiate as uniust iudges; commanding them that they would take care of their owne affayres att home, they not long after proclaime their fæderall warre;

The king on the other side not ignorant that this tempest woulde rush vpon him and his, prouides for himselfe as much as hee canne; The peeres of the upper howse and the parliament men of the lower howse not yet taking itt to bee their duty to dissert the commonwealth,: betake themselues vnto the kings part; (of which the peeres were in number 40 togeather with the keeper of the great seale and those members of the howse of commons exceeded the number of 200;) it seemed then fitt to transferre the parliament to Oxford, where being admitted not as before to armes, but vnto councells with the king they performed their assembly after the custome of parliaments by the kings authority, there to deliberate more peaceably of the affayres of the kingdome, where nothing was wanting to

the power and dignity of parliament besides the walls and place of parliament appointed by the kings edict;

To these thus assembled, the king only proposed this that as much as in them lay, they woulde turne away the storme, or looke howe hee might more commodiously beare itt; These men therefore warne the Scottish nation, that they shoulde not in hostile manner inuade the kingdome of England and the king, nor violate the lawe of pacification not long sence established; they declare itt to bee treason to set vpon the king with armes, nor lesse hee not knowing of itt to inuite a forraigne nacion into the kingdome; the rest of the parliament men though sitting att Westminster in both their names they pronounce guilty of high treason;

They gather moneyes to beare out the charge of a double warr to come, (what the exhawsted countreys and cities that obeyed the king coulde helpe them with) the king commands the Marquesse of Hamilton to contayne the Scotts att home, and that they intermedle not in the affayres of another kingdome; whome (when the king had vnderstood had treacherously performed that duty) flying out of Scotland vnder pretence of danger to the king the kings maiesty committs to prison, and commands the Earle of Mountrosse graced with the title of the kings generall and Leiutenant to passe into Scotland that the Scotts being reciprocally troubled att home they might bee detayned from nourishing troubles in England; but this wrought not the desired effect for

the Scotts neuerthelesse persisted not from their beginnings (as I haue already tolde you) whoe not longe after withholde a great part of the northerne parts from engaging elswhere with the parliamenteers, and att lenght by the helpe of the english sowldiers (which the parliament had prepared for their ayde) they vanquish and putt them to flight; they winne Newcastle by assault and other fortifications: Hence the kinges affayres euery day decline and att lenght absolutely moulder away, the victory euery where inclining too the parliamenteers;

The kings armes att lenght wasted, and his forces worne out partly by the Scotts subministring forces to the parliament, partly by factions euery day encreasing betweene his peeres and cheiftaynes of his army (plainely manifesting that the force of diuine iustice will not long lie hidde or bee retarded by any opposing power whatsoeuer;) first hee offers to hast to London, and to committ himselfe to the parliaments fayth, afterwards to cast himselfe vpon the embraces of the english army,: but being reiected of both,: dangers creeping on, making vse of a bolde aduice, hee deliuers himselfe vpp into the hands of the Scotts, the ffrench Embassador (whoe att that time was in the campe of the Scotts (as alsoe some of the Scotch leaders couenanting for his safety, and for obtayning of æquall condicions in both nations; Hence grudges arise betwixt the Scotts and independents (for soe nowe was the other faction of the Nouators called) before bread, now more largely spreads itselfe, and almost

breakes foorth into a warre; Long before this they beganne to deceaue them of their paies, and to impose vpon them a necessity of wresting of money and victualls from the counties where their army marched; afterwards they expose them to hatred, and to derogate from the valor of the nacion, calling them mercenaries and hirelings; they all this while reaping noe other reward then that of reproaches; Att last they forbeare not to prouoke them in expelling them foorth of the kingdome by open warre, and doe beginne to moue their ensignes agaynst them,: nor dare the English præsbiterians nowe gainesay them (although notwithstanding the same opinion was concurrant with them as was in the Scotts) least they shoulde seeme to beare regard to the insolency of the Scotts, rather then to the honor of their countrey; Att lenght after long disputes (the Scotts vrging that itt was not lawfull for them by lawes of nature, of nacion, of affinity, to deliuer vpp the king to the parliamenteers whoe of his owne accord come into their power,: The independents alsoe in the name of the parliament arguing against them, that itt was not lawfull for the Scotts to admitt the king into their army within England, being stipendiary sowldiers of the English, much lesse was itt in their power to detayne him, agaynst the will of the parliament) the kings person is deliuered into the hands of the parliamenteers; and the Scotts receauing a 100000£ sterling with promise of a 100000£ within the space of a yeare, depart out of the kingdome with this caution notwithstanding interposed; that noe

hurt shoulde happen or bee intended (which god forbidde) to the kings person, and that hee shoulde bee receaved within one of the kings howses, where there might bee noe lesse care had of the maiesty then of the safety of the king; and where they may endeauour by arguments from both nacions to exhibite propositions for the setling of both kingdomes; with this determinacion the king is receaued into Newcastle by Commisioners from the parliament, *videlicet* fower peeres of the vpper house, and eight gentlemen of the lower howse, with a guarde of sowldiers and is brought into Holmeby in Northamptonshire; where truely hee suffered a glorious but a straight imprisonment all being farre removed from him, whoe euer affected the kings party, or were but suspected, yea and his very chaplaynes though one of them in his letters to the parliament hee earnestly desired; The ambitious desires of pray and empire, of the contending victors, coulde nowe bee noe longer dissembled seuering themselues into diuers names and sects, and whome before wee bound vpp in the only name of Nouators, nowe we must diuide into their seuerall classes,: and alsoe wee will relate by what craft and by what degrees they contended for the principality;

The large acception of the nouators concludes all whoe were agaynst the king vnder pretence of innouating anything in the ancient lawes whether ecclesiasticall or ciuill, and for all the præsbiterians whoe went about to innouate the gouerment and Liturgye of the Church, as alsoe

woulde change the ciuill state into an Aristocracy, the name of the king only being kept on foote and shadowe of monarchy; Alsoe the more moderate independents and some of the sect of Anabaptists whoe desired noe established ecclesiasticall nationall gouerment and to whome democracy was most pleasing the kings name and person only preserued; but the cheife whoe were deseruedly branded with this appellacion consisted of fewe of the most rigide præsbiterians but greatest part of the Independents and Anabaptists, whoe the rootes of Monarchy being altogeather pluckt vpp some of them endeauoured to builde vpp an Oligarchy, some an Anarchy, but very many a Democracy; wee speake of these especially whoe were prime Leaders to the rest, and the first authors of troubling affayres; And now they prosequuted what from the beginning they leuelled their intentions att; whoe treading vnderfoote the ancient lawes yea ouerthrowing those which handed them to their rising; altogeather abusing the endeauours of all others they aspire vnto the highest pitch of gouerment;

This faction from the tender growth of troubles was scarse distinguished by any title, but was couered vnder the vizard of patriotts and most religious men: which nowe earnestly watch all occasions of intermingling affayres and stirring vpp a ciuill warre and anon the warre raging striue with all its strenght that the state of the Commonwealth being troubled differences might not bee composed; To this purpose they cease not

to prouoke the king against the parliament, and agayne exulcerate the mindes of the parliament men agaynst the king, euery where scattering apples of contention, and with euery light report driuing the common people hither and thither, intermingled themselues into commocions as popular men are wont to doe, when they had well and happily atcheiued their desire on the king,: by their calumniation with deepe machination and craft they catch at all aduantages to heape hatred vpon him,: first they turned the peoples mindes from the king, and afterwards from peace; They observe the parliament when they send propositions to the king, or receaue any back from him (by which the woundes of warre being skinned ouer there was a probality to restore peace) accusing them in prosperity to bee too insolent, telling them that what nowe they had almost gott by force and armes they woulde not goe about to purchase by petition and making condicions; but their fortune ebbing, in their pusillanimity they animate them by requests and petitions, that they woulde not then thincke of making a peace in that condicion which in soe miserable a fortune they woulde bee necessitated to accept vpon seuere and hard tearmes,: and that the care and honor of parliament shoulde preuent them that they shoulde not seeme to bee compelled to doe anything by force or feare; Alsoe with rumors spread abroad and fayned letters, and witnesses subornd, they crye out that I knowe not what machinations, deceites, and monsters of dangers are vnder the specious vizards

of friendshipp, they beseech them by all the bowells of loue, by the fayth by the which they were contaynd; they contende with long arguments, and speeches vehemently pressing them that they would rather vndergoe the vncertaine chance of warre; and after to expect the fauour of god in soe great a matter (soe itt pleased them to stile itt) then to make peace with the king with vnfaithfull condicions and destructive to the commonwealth;

The credulous and those that were prone to suspicion besides alsoe conscious of what they had deserued are easily ensnared by these artifices,: and soe seuere condicions are obtruded vpon the king, to which without much hurt to his conscience, the ruin of his friends, and shipwrack of his honor hee coulde not consent vnto; Letters and proposalls are sent from the kings maiesty very often and are receaued agayne and agayne (almost 20 times) which although most æquall are reiected;

In the meane space these good men husband this oportunity of the warre to their owne profitts whilst that they boast themselues defendors of the publick liberty, and carry before them a zeale altogeather diuine of asserting religion; they insinuate themselues in the fauour of very many, by offices both of power and gayne,: Afterwards the rootes or engines more largely spreading they drawe some after others into their conspiracy, and make greater progresses both in the parliament and alsoe in the prouinces, in the later by stirring vpp the lightheaded multitude

to make petitions, or rather fixing the names of the people to petitions (contriued by 2 or 3 of their owne faction;) In the former by making the authority of parliament seruiceable to their owne artifices; which was not very hard to doe early in the morninge, or late att night, or else those parliament men not appearing whose opinions were contrary, or being gone away to looke after their priuate affayres; they catch att all oportunities of carrying voyces, and lay holde, (as they say) vpon the hinderpart, vpon any occasion that is likely to serue their turne,: soe that the lesser part but more watchfull did by litle and litle circumuent the greater and lesser sedulous, iff anything was publickly disputed of in the parliament, which they woulde not haue concluded or did beholde afarre of auerse to their endeauours, by goeing agaynst itt hand and foote (as wee say) or seeking out crafty shifts, or casting in scruples amidst the heate of their disputes they procure that the determinacion of the matter may bee putt of vntill another time, iff the greater number of voyces ouerthrowe their opinion, they to diuerte them seeke occasion by establishing some order or decree, which might infringe the strenght or sinewes of the former, and deceaue their intentions; iff they had any designe to effect which might create suspicion in their aduersaries, and which there was noe hope any way to obtayne in full and frequent convencions, with fayned necessities or occasions really pressing they take care that the præsbiterians may bee imployed in the countrey, where they

may endeauour something for the commonwealth but of noe great moment,: then with voyces wonderfully concurring they propound what they will haue determined among themselues; nor from hence doe they a litle promote their affayres in hauing priuate litle assemblies and conuenticles where mutually conferring their opinions they might more narrowly spye what was in the busines, howe they might behaue themselues in itt, and what partes they showlde act; with these and such like ones these nouators hauing obtayned an indifferent power refuse not to bee called Independents, (the name taking itts origine because those depending vpon the gouerment of noe nacionall church, ecclesiasticall nor ciuill order, administer all affayres that apertayne to ecclesiasticall gouerment within their priuate congrægations) not that these for the most part were greatly solicitous of religion, but that this specious profession might lay open a most large windowe for all sects, whence the power and number of their faction might very much increase these are scoffingly called by others brethren and alsoe Saincts (a mutuall apellacion amongst themselues;) Neuertheles that they may more largely spread their family they diligently applye themselues to men of euery condicion, and with a fayned courtesye and alacrity of receeding, and humility, they posest the good will of very many,: and with fitt allurements they attempt the mindes of all sorts of men; to the religious, promising reformacion of diuine worshipp; to the preachers or ministers, they giue

hopes of the enioyment of the reuenewes of the Bishops, and deanes &c. and of præsbitery to bee established by lawe, liberty preserued to the pious and modest dissentors; They giue *bona fide* liberty and impunity to scismaticks and hæreticks,: feeding the Ambitious with honors and titles, procuring money to bee giuen to the courteous, either in the name of a compensation or reward; they assayle the guilty with threatnings; opening an asylum or protection to heynous offendors; and that I may conclude in a word, they see noe man obstinately contrary to their purposes, whome they drawe not into suspicion and danger, by their emissaries and spies euery where placed, and intercepted letters; wresting their very wordes and actions into the worst sence; They admitt noe man into their protection to whome they affoord not patronage euen to all his actions, though hee bee the most wicked and debauched person, growne infamous in the most heynous offences; Amongst which they procure as a companion to them Lenthall, the speaker of the lower howse, a fitt man to promote their affayres, to whome they offer money and impunity, whenas hee was accused for defrawding and detayning from the commonwealth great somes of money,: for these reasons not lesse seruiceable (and as itt was meete,) more faithfull, by howe much more guilty; with the pretence of a newe and truely a specious decree (by which they woulde weaken as itt were the parliament and restore itt to itts integrity as itt was pretended,: and which they sacredly entitled

by the name of a willing selfe deniall or selfe denying ordinance,: they very much cutt of the sinewes of the præsbiterians, and confirme their owne strenght; for by this institution itt was prouided that noe one of either howse showlde enioy any military office or office of gayne after a certaine day limited, by which it came to passe that very many of the æmulous faction were depriued of the offices they mutually shared amongst themselues; Hence occasion is taken of changing all ciuill gouerment, and alsoe the militia or military affayres after a newe modell (as then they termed itt) to bee disposed at theyre beck and will; both which are substituted for the greatest part the favouritts of that faction;

For all this the Independent senators coulde not forbeare from the sudden compassing of them greedily wayting all oportunities, and sometimes when they were wanting altogeather turning the solemme decree of selfe deniall into a selfe loue;

Ouer the Army after the displacing of Essex (as lesse sutable to their genius) they place Sir Thomas ffairfax the only sonne of the Lord ffairefax which remayned aliue, truely a warlick man, but of that capacity that hee seemd more fitt to receaue then to giue commands and whoe coulde better direct sowldiers howe to handle their armes then any way to aduize; to him with the title of Leiutenant generall, but in the place of gouernor, was adioyned Cromwell whoe hauing (riotrously spent almost euen to a farthing) not a very large patrimony, instituted a newe marchandise of religion to patch vpp his fortunes, making

himselfe the standard bearer and defendor of all companies of scismaticks, and by the fauour of these is made a parliament man,: will you beholde him as hee is painted euen by his owne faction in liuely collours (euen in their diuulged papers;) An excellent Artificer in counterfeiting and dissembling, whoe lifting vpp his eies to heauen, and putting his right hand vpon his breast, calls vpon ye name of god, weepes beseeches, repents himselfe agayne vntill hee hath thrust his opposite speaker throwgh the fift ribbe,: I say nothing of his ambition, coueteousnes, and pride which his Democraticall companions or leuellers with full mouths obiect agaynst him; The colonells, captaynes and inferior officers cheifly are made choyse of that are scismaticks or not greatly hatefull to them, but the more gainefull offices of the Army are conferred vpon Cromwells sonne in lawe, sonnes, kindred and familiars;

Hauing got this oportunity they doe not vnprofitably wast time, but in all places diligently by running to and agayne, exhorting, likewise creating meetings that they may gayne the mindes of the sowldiers vnto them; By the helpe of whome, nowe growne in a neerer vicinity to them, they may obtayne admission vnto the voyde places of burgesses, into the lower howse of parliament, And thus the Leaders of the Army with their forces drawne togeather euery where compell the inhabitants of the corporacions throwgh feare, to designe with their confirmacions vnto parliament, those whome att least they approue

of in the roomes of those parliament men that were dead or expelled (whoe woulde rather haue substituted others by a free election :) soe that in a short time, many after this manner being obtruded into parliament, the decree or selfe denying ordinance being layd aside, both military and ciuill offices are managed by the same hands; To this alsoe as iff very well dispatched that the popular fauour and fame to second itt may bee added, all things done by them are set foorth in wonderfull elogies by presses hired, and writers purposely appointed, and in weekely mercuries and threehalfepenny diaries are obtruded vpon the people to bee read by them (being alwaies greedy enough of fables) those being the pages that euery where personate the prayses of Cromwell;

Nowe whenas they perceaved the kings affayres altogeather deplored, and the victory to bee secure on the parliamentary side, they turne their mindes to the ruine of the æmulous faction *videlicet* the præsbiterian although prædominant,: they endeauour to lessen their æstimacion and by litle and litle to diminish their strenght; which that they may more easily obtayne, in litle bookes spread abroad to the disgrace and mockery of their ecclesiasticall discipline, they rayle agaynst the payment of Teithes, coueteousnes, pride, and præsbyterian seuerity (and especially of the ministery;) yea that they may procure more hatred vpon their heads, they gaue them in charge the rigide parts of reformation, and most vnpleasing to the people,: more then sufficiently making

hast with their officious cunning to bring solitude and calamity euery where,: of which sort were to burden the refusers of the couenant, to exact mulcts, to squeeze the people of their money (and what might alsoe stirre vpp the hatred off posterity) to command vnder pretence of visiting the Academies, some of the most learned men into exile;

They euery where mingle themselues into the præsbiterian conuencions and cast in scruples and remoras that theyre more pleasing decrees may bee brought to nothing; att lenght they soe effect itt that they are publiquely derided; this for the most part being done,: they endeauour further and collours of small offences being sought out, they wrest the gouerment of all garrisons and fortifications out of the hands of the præsbiterians; they take care that all armes and forces with which euery county did almost abound (athough but small) bee disbanded, except that army and forces which ffairefax commanded; They sende the Scotts out of England; They alsoe drawe the cheife of the præsbiterians to their side, corrupted with offices or gifts or else terrified with threatnings that they might bee openly prævaricated, or priuately (whilst they beare the markes or names of præsbiterians written in their foreheads, they may penetrate into their secretts) and may noe lesse efficaciously then securely employ their endeauours for the Independents; Amongst which of cheifest ranck were Skippon and Marshall; the one bearing the office of maior generall in the Army of ffairefax,

the other a minister and oracle of the præsbiterians ; both guilefull men and much attentiue to their proper benefitts, and which vnder a pretence of moderating matters, and reconciling parties, not a litle promoted the aymes of the Independents and by the same meanes purchased their particular aduantages ;

The parliamenteers hauing nowe gott the victory (and which is more) the king ; (that I may now att lenght prosequute the thred of my discourse a litle interrupted) especially the præsbiterians, whoe hitherto much excelled in the number of voyces in the parliament, : and to whome itt seemed there was nowe neede but of a lesser army, as well to lessen the publicke charge, as to auerte the danger, which openly hung ouer their heads from the military faction and power of the Independents, to this purpose itt was long disputed, att lenght ordayned in parliament that 12000 should bee sent into Ireland, the rest disbanded, except 6000 horse and 1000 dragoones or thereabouts as alsoe 6000 foote which was ordayned to bee vnder ffairefaxes Command, and equally to bee distributed throwout all the shires of the kingdome ; To this intent that they might as (they say) suppresse in the blade any insurrections that shall happen any where in their præcincts, and not being kept togeather might not studye newe practises ; but from hence, the sowldiers beginne to make tumults, and to cast foorth trifling reasons agaynst itt, in shewe to terrifye (very many of the leaders of the Army offering themselues mediators to

compose those motions,: notwithstanding animating them priuately, reaching firebrands to their fury;) Att lenght they breake foorth into sedition; which then those leaders founde to succeede according to their desire, they lay by the personallity they hitherto carried (but amongst all especially Cromwell whoe lately in the parliament inuocating the name of god promised that the Army showlde bee most ready to lay downe their Armes at the ffeete of the parliament whenеuer they showlde command them; moreouer alsoe not long before religiously professing that hee had rather hee and his family shoulde bee burned then the army be tumultuous;) they nowe openly adhære to the common sowldiers side; and turne out of their places, and driue from the Army a hundred more or lesse collonells captaynes, ensignes and inferior officers whoe choosed rather to preserue their fidelity to the parliament vntainted; These factious persons vndertake this soe great and heynous an attempt by the helpe of leaders heeretofore vnknowne amongst sowldiers which they called agitators: these were common sowldiers chosen out of the seuerall regiments of horse and foote whoe kept councells in the name of the sowldiers and whoe determined what was to bee done,: and their emissaries being sent throwghout all the standing forces and garrisons might instruct the rest; att lenght for their authority they acted with the leaders of the Army of better note, possessing places in common with them hauing nothing more frequent in their mouths then the power and liberty of the people,:

they professedly endeauoured the erecting of Democracy giving name and Christendome to the third family; yea to that impudence were the leaders of the army carryed, that bringing the king out of prison into their army they seemed to doe enough almost to deserue thanckes by their dutifulnes to him and fayre promises: bewayling his condicion whoe was almost buried aliue from his subiects and was penned vpp in his owne court noe otherwise then in a straight prison from all that were his former attendants,: they professe (which to them is more sacred than all oathes) that they woulde neuer lay downe armes untill they had restored the scepter to him and more æquall condicions to his freinds; they permitt the free admission of some of his chaplaynes and according to his will the vse of sacred matters; they indulge the frequent commerce of messengers, and letters sealed from the Queene to the king and from him back agayne,: And anon the kings children (that the kings maiesty might deeme att leastwise to returne to his owne and enioy that part of the kingdome that was most sweete to him) are permitted to see their father and leaue of coming togeather is graunted to and agayne; the Army seemed almost to travayle into the Court whilst the kings necessary servants runne to congratulate with the king, the number of courtiers dayly encreasing; nor doe they seeme lesse serious to treate with the king in composing of matters; they frame propositions which contayned howe farre the king, themselues, and the Commonwealth shoolde bee lookt vpon

as equitable and good for euery one ; to which iff the king woulde giue confirmacion they promise their endeauours whereby hee shoulde bee raysed from the footestepp to the highest pitch of maiesty,: these afterwards being brought by their commissioners to the king, and not very much pleasing to him, they soften and will seeme to fitt them almost to the kings minde ; yea one or other of the kings familiar servants are permitted to bee present att their military councells as often as they pleased ; In this interim they sende foorth in publick declarations and remonstrances to the disgrace and mockerye of the parliament, they brand them with the marke of coueteousnes, selfe loue, ambition, iniustice, and cruelty, demanding their paies due to them ; they appeach eleauen members of the lower howse and eight of the most considerable of the vpper howse of treason,: att lenght exhibiting agaynst them frivolous articles, they are vrgent that they bee expelled the howse of parliament, and that they may pleade their cause,: they petition or rather command att that instant of time the present parliament to bee abrogated, and another more æquall and fitt to succeede in itts place foreseeing that by the hope of this only benefitt the whole communalty woulde be obliged to them (which hope is vsed to comfort the distressed ;) itt is not to bee dissembled but that many profitable things were by them offered (that they might with fayre wordes allure the people) in which they alwaies promoted the kings endes ; and not forgetting sometimes obliquely and another while openly to plead

throwghly in the kings behalfe; and that the king might bee absolutely restored to his right, the Queene, and princely issue, without which they crye out there was noe solide peace to bee hoped for: but for the most part what with condicions thrust in, or doubtfull wordes they vndoe agayne,: that they may winde themselues out of those difficulties heereafter; (iff they fortuned to ouercome the præsbiterians; but whenas the parliament were determined not to condescend to their military postulates, nor coulde itt bee for their purpose or dignity,: the Army (casting the dice as wee say) aduance their ensignes for the king and people agaynst the parliament; the parliament on the other side prepare for defence with the Londoners, and declare an inuitacion for the king to come to London; in the meane while the speakers of both howses with fifty independent parliament men or thereabouts hauing before hand dressed their flight slippe out of the city,: and trembling betake themselves to the army, complayning that they were forced by their companions and citizens, and certaine disbanded sowldiers and cry out that they may reuenge itt by armes,: others of the same branne (as wee say) or ill mayking, remayne within the 2 howses that they may blowe the coale (as wee tearme itt) and perturbe the præsbiterian councells;

The splendide answers of the Army of restoring the king (which was only hoped for) the dissoluing the parliament, and introducing peace and publicke equity easily helde entangled the citizens (the citizens I say) euer feauourish, whoe

noe sooner are hott but they beginne to coole agayne; but the countrimen whoe in times past were wont to runne to the ayde of the citizens carried nowe mindes full of hatred, towards the citizens, and parliament men, because they kindled the first firebrands of the ciuill warre; nor were they yett ready to extinguish them; they alone endeauouring to shutt their gates to peace nowe seeming to returne to them; what remayned, but that (all hopes fayling) the parliamenteers loose courage,: and those that were seruiceable to the Army throwgh the city, and the champions of their faction, open the gates, and without any articles concluded yealde themselues submissiuely to the power and will of the Army;

By this meanes the fugitive senators are brought back to their forsaken seates with great ostentacion, very many of the præsbiterians goeing away from both howses, others prævaricating in their opinion (as itt is wont to bee) fell off to the conquering side; Att that time the history of the euills they before committed is begunne agayne in what they now suffered,: some of the members of parliament, the Lord Mayor alsoe of the city, with the cheife Aldermen are cast into prison for the safety of their fellowe citizens (repenting their toomuch timidity, and sloath, as former frireends towards theire king) seauen or eight peeres of the vpper howse being accused of treason are alsoe thrust into prison; afterwards notwithstanding the heate of their æmulacion by litle and litle diminishing and almost sup-

pressed, and noe proofe brought agaynst the imprisoned they are lett goe somewhat macerated with drought and the filthines of the prison,: which might bee sufficient to deterre others from such a malepertnes of withstanding them ;

After that the Army had thus tamed and subdued the 2 bulwarkes of the kingdome, the parliament, and the city of London (triumphing nowe twice ouer their companions and their enemies ;) they had nothing else to take care of, but what they might with much leasure expedite, *videlicet*,: that they might make firme and establish to themselues what they had thus attayned ; a gouernor and garrison is very shortly putt into the Tower, of the dreggs of the citizens, but whoe were raysed to this dignity by wholly enslauing themselues to the conquering faction: the former gouernor, with the ancient garrison is cast out for this only fault, that hee seemed of a minde more inclinable to the præsbiterians ;

Commissioners (in whose power was altogeather the ordayning of the whole militia) and alsoe colonells captaynes and all inferior officers giue place to men of this newe dresse; the militia of the suburbs and city is seuered into diuers parts, by which meanes the seedes of differences being scattered amongst the citizens, and the suburbians, and the commissioners hauing their seuerall meeting places itt woulde bee more difficult for them to bee drawne togeather, whereby they might forme an army ; but this seemed needles to anyone seing that the citizens long sence togeather with their courages had layd downe their armes ;

and moreouer the fortifications of the city of London were throwne downe under pretence of restoring the kingdome to peace ; after this the posts and chaynes throwgh the streetes are carried away that the horse might more freely scowre throwghout all the quarters of the city,: nor was there left any power to the citizens or woemen soe much as to kick with their heeles agaynst them ; furthermore that they may establish their dominion both vpon Land and Sea they place a Colonell ouer the Nauy, a man of the greatest account of the Democraticall faction or Leuellers; ffairefax is made the cheifest gouernor of the Army, or captayne generall not only of the aforesaid army but alsoe of all the sowldiers within England and Ireland ; (whereby they may bee more readily and carefully releeued) thancks are giuen by the parliament to the sowldiers and alsoe in the churches by the preachers ; by the citizens they are alsoe ioyfully receaued, after the manner they are accustomed to expresse their ioy and gladnes, *videlicet* with banquettings and riott, euen those men whome euen nowe they helde meete to driue from their walls with armes,: a monthes pay is alsoe assigned as a token of their loue, for their great and earnest diligence and seruice to the parliament ; After all this itt is long disputed, on what side the parliament woulde stand,: whether the results of the Army or the parliament were to be confirmed seing both by course were established and that by a diuided number of voyces ; They are nowe rather doubtfull by what meanes or euent they might free

themselues from these snares, whether they might assay to breake of the parliament,: or that force being brought vpon them and by itt their authority altogeather weakened, they might lawfully flye away, (which in the parliament men that were on the kings side they formerly condemned,:) nowe they resolue of both, anon either, awhile after neither,: howeuer att last they resolue the departure of those that fled and their coniunction with the Army to bee approued of, as what was for the publick good and lawfully done,: with which successe the leaders of the Army and cheife of that faction being puft vpp, they afterwards beganne greatly to forgett their fellowe sowldiers, and champions; Hence forward noe mencion is made of the dissoluing of this parliament or calling another, or of their often promises which they had made both to the king and people; they nowe endeauour to prouide for their private benefitts, and to establish an Oligarchy with all their strenght (which nowe they seemed almost to haue compassed to themselues) but the agitators and all the democrations or leuellers endeauour noe lesse the abrogating of this parliament as the succeeding of a newe one, by the more æquall suffrages of the people (which under the name of a representatiue showlde be constituted by a circumscribed and limited power, and a certaine period of dissolution, as alsoe with all their strenght they earnestly contende to introduce a dæmocracy; notwithstanding both the families nowe secure from the præsbiterians, æqually plott the destruction of the king and monarchy; the one

cryes out the king showlde bee brought out to iustice or made away violently and priuately, the other thincke itt more fitt to handle the matter more artificiously by fraudulent circumstances; which they thus bring to passe, that condicions of peace shall bee carried to the king, to which iff hee consents, hee depriues himselfe of the kingdome,: but iff hee refuseth hee will bee depriued by the voyces of others; and moreouer woulde bee esteemed contumacious with the people, and which woulde giue them a fayre prætence to committ the heynous offence that they intended; In this manner they prævayle with the parliament that forsooth condicions of peace not att all to bee discussed bee carried to the king, but propositions and commands sufficiently seuere concerning gouerment which iff hee shoulde graunt, hee woulde diuest himselfe of his crowne; to which although the leaders of the Army especially Cromwell had giuen their suffrages in parliament, yett in the Army were the authors the king did not consent vnto; promising that they woulde obtayne more æquall condicions, or att leastwise giue him; faygning that iff those that were sent, (hated of very many) proceeded from the seuerity of the præsbiterians,: by which artifice the kings maiesty being deluded, answereth: That the propositions were in themselues of that nature that hee coulde not subscribe them with a safe conscience, nor honor, nor conuenient for restoring peace and reconciling all parties in the kingdome: hee appeales rather to the Armys postulates, as more gentle

condicions of peace to all, and cheifely as a fitt argument, the conference of a personall treaty betweene him and his parliament; to which purpose hee desires that commissioners may bee added from the Army; Cromwell seemed much to reioyse in himselfe att this answer, and the rest of the leaders of the Army to triumphe, and agayne to promise all dutifull seruices to the king, (as iff by this his approbation greater honor had been giuen to the Army then to the parliament;) In the meane space they by all waies imbitter the mindes of the other parliament men agaynst the king,: and agayne softly to dissemble or faigne shame that in a lesse measure they stood to their couenants and promises, one while saying the reuerence of parliament was the cause of itt, another while the feircenes of the agitators; Att lenght they beginne absolutely to turne their backes, interpreting their promises to a contrary sence, to putt the king in feare of the agitators and all the Democratians or leuellers, as iff they intended violent death to him, nor were the leaders of the Army able to withstand them,: and agayne to perswade with the king that hee woulde nowe deliuer himselfe from imminent danger, for that iff the agitators were once gathered togeather they coulde by noe meanes keepe their fayth with him; with which the kings maiesty being moued (whenas itt was more pernicious for him to distrust them then to bee betrayed by them) withdrawes himselfe priuately from the Army, (where his fate lead him) into the Isle of of wight, ouer which (that hee may

serue this scene) was placed gouernor Colonell Hamnon, most deare to Cromwell; To this mans patronage the king committs himselfe thus of his owne accorde casting himselfe into those netts which the affectators of Oligarchy had long layed for him; After this not suffering himselfe to bee wanting to the Commonwealth, wondring whether hee was fled,: the kings maiesty writes vnto the parliament, and sends easy concessions of too much equallity beyond the hopes of all, and the wishes of many and adding prægnant arguments why hee coulde not giue his consent to those propositions that were lately sent to him from parliament, hee proposes his concessions and the proposalls of the Army to bee discussed by a personall treaty or conference, which in fauour of the people hee importunately desires,: and that there was not anything of his right that hee woulde not remitt whereby hee might with any peace whatsoeuer redeeme the quiett of his subiects; The fauourers of Oligarchy being certaine to oppugne peace whensoeuer itt seemed to looke fresh, or bee renewed, cast in all obstacles and scruples they canne, and from hence they take occasion to oppose the king thus desirous of peace, with these fower postulates,: to bee confered on them, as a pledge as itt were of his trust, which iff the kings maiesty will assent vnto, they promise to enter into a treaty with him vpon the rest.

The postulates were these fower

1st. That itt may bee lawfull for those whome the Army please to appoint heereafter

to regulate the militia of the whole kingdome without the kings consent,: and that all others shoulde bee forbidden vnder payne of treason to come togeather to the number of 30 men without consent of parliament;

2d. That itt may bee iust and lawfull for the parliament to adiourne to any place whatsoeuer, and remoue their sessions for what time soeuer, and conuene togeather according to their owne will and pleasure;

3d. That all oaths, interdictions, and declaracions whatsoeuer, publikely sett foorth agaynst the session of both or either howse of parliament, may bee declared voyde and of none effect

4th. That whomesoeuer the king had inobled with titles sence that time hee himselfe departed from the parliament, and the great seale was surreptitiously taken away bee depriued of their honours; They desire the kings maiesty to command all these to bee established and passe into lawes

In the interim the Scottish commissioners that wer then att London exhibite arguments agaynst these postulates in their writings,: and afterwards, whenas neuerthelesse they were sent vnto the king,: they oppugne them making their protestacion before the king; that they were diametrically auerse to religion, the crowne, and couenants betweene both kingdomes of England and Scotland;

Whether showlde the king nowe turne himselfe or howe showlde hee slippe aside, being pent

in these straights,: whoe iff he showlde consent to the postulates by his owne suffrage hee expelled himselfe the kingdome but iff hee refused had been expelled by others suffrages; and moreouer woulde incurre noe milder a fate with the vulgar then that of contumacy; There was not for all this wanting to the king that magnitude of minde and wonderfull prudence, but that to these by and by hee answereth;

Amongst other difficulties with which I haue a long time strugled, this is the most greiuous, that I am nowe engaged to satisfye the ends of all differing desires,: which is manifest by this, whenas att the same time that the parliament of England sende propositions to bee by mee consented vnto and established,: the Scottish commissioners protest agaynst them: whereby I am depriued of all hope (matters thus standing) to prosequute that which is most in my endeauours,: *videlicet* a peace fitted to the wishes of all; moreouer that which is alsoe an obstacle that I canne by noe meanes satisfye the demands of the parliament,: whenas the ancient course of consummating lawes, was either by the personall consent of the king giuen in the vpper howse,: or by letters patents from the king vnder the great seale of England; which is to mee impossible being in prison but itt may bee interpreted fraudulently to bee done, by posterity; euery concession and binding security whatsoeuer made by a seale by the Command of the kings maiesty suborned will bee altogeather vnstable and vnfaithfull; alsoe by commanding those things to bee established I shall

not only oute myselfe and my successors of all principallity for euer,: but whatsoeuer greveious burdens shall happen to bee imposed on the enslaued heads of my subiects by this soe great a power of parliament, will bee to mee imputed,: which howe much inconsistent with the natiue liberty of my people, and the office and duty of the king to defend the same,: I leaue to any one to iudge; I aske alsoe iff the parliament will not thincke themselues aggreiued, and howe importune a thing itt is, and vnconsonant to reason,: whenas the king desires a personall treaty, to haue the cheife heads of things first graunted, before they come there to bee discussed; for these causes itt seemes to mee to bee noe way aduisedly safe to graunt any proposition before all the rest come to bee treated of; notwithstanding by howe much my fatherly bowells earne towards my people, I doe constantly and importunately desire this personall treaty with my eies in the meane while cast vpp to heauen vntill god shall encline the parliament to enter vpon the wayes or meanes of peace,: but to mee it will bring comfort enough that I haue not omitted anything which I helde to appertayne to the duty of a king and a christian;

This thus signed (as itt then was) the king commands to bee sent to the parliament by the commissioners of parliament,: Amongst whome the Earle of Denbigh entreates that itt may bee vnsealed, (being wholly enslaued to the Oligarchians) because the commissioners might bee more certaine what they carried, as itt becomed com-

missioners not letter carriers,: (although to them was committed noe other power then of deliuering these postulates in writing to the king) vnto which they interpose their faith, that nothing showlde by this happen of frawde or detriment to the king; but as soone as they by the kings reading itt ouer, had perceaued that secrett which they had a burning desire to knowe,: They lingred nothing att their faith thus giuen; but as soone as they were gone out of the kings presence, by these mens directions the best king is shutt into a most straight prison,: all his servants are driuen from him except newe men that were his enemies, placed about him rather to his mockery then safeguard or seruice,: straight watch is kept that noe letter or peace of paper howe litle soeuer, or any messenger, showlde priuately be admitted to him, or sent from him, by placing military sentinells and guards to all passages, doores, and windowes of his chamber; att lenght the kings answer being read in the parliament,: Cromwell, Ireton, and the rest of the standard bearers of the faction and affectors of Oligarchy, whoe as soone as they knowe the king to bee ensnared in their notts,: they brought vnto their owne beck and will all the agitators and assertors of democracy, one and a second being shott to death, and others of them thrust into prison vnder the specious pretence of preseruing military discipline;) they nowe beginne to spitt foorth their poison that was long concealed in their breasts, and openly to rage agaynst the king, to declayme agaynst him with premeditated speeches, to stirre vpp the

rest of the parliament men,: and to forge these fower interdictions,: by which itt was prouided;

1st. That there showlde bee noe addresse or future entercourse from the parliament to the king

2d. That there showlde bee noe commerce to and agayne of any man or men whatsoeuer with the king, without leaue had of the 2 howses

3d. That noe message or any paper showlde att any time bee by them receaued from the king

4th. That whoesoeuer showlde doe anything to the contrary showlde suffer the punishment of a Traytor;

Nor yett coulde they obtayne these without their wonted artifices, and frawde, noe not with the lower howse of parliament; for before there was any mention made of any such seuerity forty or fifty of the cheifest men, (greatest part of which att least withstood their endeauours) are commanded into their owne countries as iff itt were to collect moneys for the pay of the sowldiers,: that thereby, and by reason of the absence of these, those that were refractory being fewe, and the more numerous part conspiring, the matter might more easily bee brought to passe; notwithstanding neuertheles, that first decree of these most pernicious men, of renouncing the king was agayne, and agayne, disputed from ten in the morning vntill seaven att night; Att lenght those that gaue their voyces for itt being more wearied, then perswaded to itt, itt past suffrage,: and then

not without hope given from the cheifest Oligarchians, that nothing of more seuerity showlde bee framed agaynst the king; The three later (when those that were of the contrary opinion had withdrewe themselues from the parliament howse, to refresh their spiritts) in the space of halfe an hower, fewe sitting still on purpose in their places established;

Butt the vpper howse was more hardly drawne to this opinion, the dispute being there protracted for very many daies; vntill Commissioners comming from the Army, gaue thancks in the name of the Army, to the lower howse,: professing that whereas they had established these decrees, they woulde bee more ready to defend them; these assayle the peeres with threatnings, vnlesse they woulde with their approbation consent to those votes thus established by the commons; and a litle while after they delaying inforce them, by sending 2 regiments into the kings palace neere to the 2 howses, (vnder pretence of a guard to the parliament but in truth to terrifye the dissenting peeres) by which the peeres being very much troubled, (many slipping away) they adioyne their suffrages to these resolues established by the Commons; These decrees soe wholesome for the whole kingdome military commissioners sent on purpose applaude alsoe with the peeres,: whoe moreouer most religiously professe for themselues in the name of the whole army, that they woulde defend all the rights and priuiledges of the vpper howse; in the meane space Cromwell that hee may couer ouer his perfideous prævarication with

some specious veyle declares to some, that his intention was to bring the king into his throne and ancient maiesty, and did alsoe thincke itt to bee for the proffitt of the Commonwealth, and to this effect did often sollicite in his prayers the diuine ayde that itt woulde direct his endeauours to that end, but sometimes his voyce fayled in the midst of his prayers, nor coulde hee speake a word more, and that hee receaued this as an answer from god,: and afterwards hee accounted the king as a reprobate from whome noe good coulde bee hoped for; but to others hee rowndely professeth that itt was lawfull to circumvent with fallacys, and wicked arts, a fallacious and wicked man, (for such a one did they stile the king;) After these thinges a declaracion is framed, wherein (in the name of the lower howse) the fauourers of Oligarchy declare the reason which moued them to establish these decrees, *videlicet* of making noe future addresse to the king; This they stuffe with whatsoeuer calumnies they canne fish out from the kings most deadly enemies, or canne coniecture by vncertaine rumors (and which they themselues had raysed) whatsoeuer ill was done vnder his fathers, or his owne gouerment, by his courtiers, servants, officers, iudges of the kingdome, or by the courts of iustice, all this is imputed to the king; yea they are not affrayd to cast vpon him as a crime his very misfortunes, or rather diuine iudgments, although it was heeretofore made apparant within the walls of the howses of parliament, that these things were not to bee aggrauated, with any shadowe of truth

to create soe great a cause of hatred; This infamous litle book they cause to bee sent throwghout all the parishes of the kingdome,: being secure enough that noe one woulde dare to vndergoe the danger of answering itt, or coulde sett foorth an answere (the presses being euery where watched:) they command the ministers to obtrude itt vpon the people in their churches, and eligantly to varnish itt ouer with wordes what they canne; in which that they may more willingly employ their endeauours, about that time itt is ordered in the lower howse that their teithes should be continued, and that the reueneues of the Deanes &c. showlde bee deriued vpon the ministers, not without a dissembled carefulnes of cherishing religion; And alsoe the cheife gouernors are euery where commanded that they enforce the refusers to pay their teithes; by their emissaries togeather with the sowldiers euery where dispersed and by their anabaptists, scismaticks, and hereticks (whoe most diligently labourd their affayres) they hoped, that the people would bee soe stirred vpp as to approue what was thus done by parliament by their gratulatory petitions,: and that they would require some punishment more acrimonious agaynst the king; but to the contrary itt came to passe, three apologies att the least being sett foorth, in which the kings maiesty is most clearely purged from these reproaches; the criminations alsoe are retorted and that faction proued guilty of those offences, which were falsfly imputed to the king and that with soe great clearenes that noe one coulde soe much

as mutter agaynst itt; The ministers coldely obey their commands: 2 or 3 gratulatory petitions only att most and these signd with fewe and obscure hands are obtayned by all the cunning of that faction; but all the people beginne to rage, and take this in indignation, all the independents, and especially the sowldiers dissemble this prævarication and imposture and banne all these as cruell thinges;

Afterwards come petitions out of many counties (and those which alwaies were for the parliament) in which they earnestly desire that a personall treaty may bee renewed with the king; that the Army being satisfyed of their arreares may bee disbanded, and in the interim ayde may bee sent into Ireland,: that they may bee freed from oppressions, and from giuing free quarter to the sowldier, which they were noe longer able to beare; Att lenght itt came to passe that many petitions of this nature approued by innumerable subscriptions of men had almost ouerwhelmed the parliament in vayne strugling agaynst them; In vayne doe the Commanders of the Army, and commissioners of parliament in their seuerall counties, (whoe had nowe almost all cast themselues into the protection of the conquering faction) and the champions of the faction themselues with all their strenght endeauour to stoppe their mouthes by their threates of sequestracion, imprisonment, and death ittselfe, or by their fayre and golden promises; Nor ought wee heere to passe by this vnobserued, whether itt were diuine vengeance, or the reciprocall commotions of the

popular rout (I will not determine) was the cause that this very parliament which first stirred vpp tumults and petitioners agaynst the king, doth nowe complayne that this their voluntary tumult of petitioning was agaynst the safety and dignity of parliament; The first troope of petitioners were the Essex men with with much an vnusuall number before these times, whoe might haue compelled those they woulde haue petitioned to satisfye their desires; The Surry men followe, whome the sowldiers taking holde of a very light occasion miserably beate neere the very doores of parliament,: they chase them away, and kill many, but wounde many more, all are robbed; and that by the conniuance and command of the parliament men and leaders of the Army: yea for this vnheard of wickednes thancks is giuen to them by the speaker of the lower howse, and gifts are assigned to those cruell robbers; but this tiranny aduantageth them noe further that by itt they coulde suppresse the complaynts of the people groaning vnder the burden,: but that the counties being thus prouoked come to petition in a greater number; which whenas they sawe brought foorth only vayne bemoaninge, but nothing of remedye from the parliament, (being deluded with a colde answer:) they flye from petitions att lenght vnto armes,: These carry togeather in their ensignes, the liberty of the king and people (which the deceaved communalty beleeued before did very ill cohære) *videlicet* the kentish men, Essex men, Suffolke men, Cornewall, and Norfolke, as alsoe the welchmen, many sowtherne

men some Northerne; Att lenght the Surry men rise with a more eager desire of a reuenge, many peeres conioyning themselues too hastily with them (the conspiracy being first discouered that they showlde have entred London; The marriners alsoe being moued with the same heate of commiseracion, decline from the parliament to the king and seaventeene shipps more or lesse passe ouer vnto the ayde of the prince (nowe Charles the 2d) setting on shore Rainsborough the late Admirall of the Nauy; The Scotts alsoe take vpp Armes to free the king being shamefully kept a prisoner, and to assert his freedome and kingly dignity,: and that by decree of theire parliament they breake in vpon the Northerne parts with a numerous army vnder the Conduct of Duke Hamilton, but with the accustomed misfortune either of the king or of Hamilton himselfe; or what ill fate I cannot say or rather diuine decree,: because these enemies arising agaynst them apart one after another, and by litle and litle giuing them time of breathing and strenght, to refreshe themselues,: soe that itt was a small matter for a veterane Army furnished with warlick instruments, and all necessary accouterments, most ready for any expedition whatsoeuer, vnder the conduct of most expert leaders to suppresse and putt to flight tumultuary countrimen, rather then sowldiers, and for the most part destitute of Armes, and leaders necessary for warre, whilst some after others goe to compleate an army; but the Colony of Exex men in Colchester and the welsh men in pembrooke (athough

they were both beseiged) troubled the enemies not a litle; The Scotts by the vnskilfulnes and cowardlynes of their leaders or (what I will not suspect) their treachery, whoe suffered the companies of their Army to bee separated the distance of forty stones cast (as wee say) are with noe trouble ouerthrowne by Cromwell,: whoe entring the midle troope of their Army suddenly putts itt to flight, terror dispersing ouer all the rest that were scattered abroad, many being slayne and taken prisoners, amongst wich Duke Hamilton,: Cromwell followes the rest euen vnto Scotland; where Arguile gathering his forces and domestick enemies meetes them as well as Cromwell that was a forreigner, and in a short time brought them into that straights; that the Army that was raysed by the authority of parliament layed downe their armes, and subiected themselues to the will of that faction; whence itt came to passe that a newe parliament is summoned all being excluded whoe tooke vpp armes for the king, or in fauour of the king, or gaue their voyces to beginne the warre,: last of all of the decrees of the parliament these are repeated, the warr is declared to bee vniustly vndertaken, publicke thancks is giuen to Cromwell,: and (as Cromwell himselfe boasted) Arguile enters into a priuate couenant, that hee woulde diligently endeauour the proffitt of the English Oligarchians and woulde roote out monarchy noe lesse out of Scotland (when opportunity of affayres woulde beare itt) as well as itt was already out of England; Adde to these, that many shipps according

to the inbred leuity of the Marriners, their heate abating, præpare their defection from the prince, feruently desiring the patronage of the Earle of warwick, whoe had endeared the Marriners to him by often largesses, and is nowe made Admirall of this newe Nauy, to allure the Marriners agayne to the obedience of the parliament, notwithstanding hee is euery where besett with spies of the Oligarchians and hauing done his worke receaued the accustomed reward of all hirelings: *videlicet* to bee turnd out of his place and sent away; whilst these warrs are waged by the Army, the senators or members in parliament, the Army being nowe employed afarre of and alsoe being free from the yoake of Cromwell and seriously considering with themselues, howe ill all the people of the kingdome tooke the iniuries that were offered to the king, as in what a slippery place their affayres stood; they bende all their endeauours for the procuring of a peace; being nowe with the Troians wise though too late,: Agaynst the mindes of the Oligarchians they repeale the votes of noe addresse to the king by the full suffrages of both howses; they appoint or ordayne a treaty to bee entred into for the composing of all differences with the king,: but by their commissioners, and that in the Ile of Wight; for this office are designed 5 peeres of the vpper howse and 10 members of the cheifest account of the lower howse; propositions are determined to bee debated on in this Treaty,: All which to render verbatim (although agaynst the institution of this worke) the reader peraduenture will not disdayne;

Whereas there was a necessity lay vpon the 2 howses to vndertake a warr for their iust defence and for the prosequution thereof bound themselues with an Oath,: that this by the kings Command may bee confirmed;

1st. Wherein all declaracions and proclamacions whatsoeuer agaynst the howses of parliament, or whomesoeuer adhæred to them, alsoe all iudgments, writts, &c. may bee declared and accounted voyde

2d. That by the kings Command there may bee a statute made for the abolishing of all Archbishopps and Bishopps of the churches of England and Ireland and for the sale of their reuenewes and possessions; as alsoe that the conuocation and sinode of the Assembly of Diuines bee approued by the kings consent, reformacion of religion throwghout England and Ireland after that modell the members of parliament haue determined or shall determine aduice being fist had with the aforesaid diuines; in particular the kings maiesty woulde giue his consent, that the ordinances of both howses heeretofore made concerning the directory may passe into an Act or lawe as to the celebrating of diuine worshipp throwghout England and Ireland and for ye obrogating the ancient liturgye of the church, and the forme of ecclesiasticall discipline or gouerment, and articles of religion, with the greater and lesser cathechismes, and for the more religious obseruing of the Lords day, and suppressing innouations in churches and chapells; for encouraging pub-

lick ministers with iust reward for their seruice; for the prohibiting the plurality of benefices and non residency to ecclesiasticall persons; That the kings maiesty woulde subscribe the nationall couenant and suffer himselfe to bee bound by itt; as alsoe by publick edict command all his subiects of both his kingdomes of England and Scotland to bee bound by the same vnder a penalty to bee prescribed at the pleasure of both howses: That by an act the howses of parliament may have power to visite and reforme the vniuersities of Oxford and Camebridge, the colledges alsoe of Winchester and Eaton; That by Statutes itt may bee prouided that neither Jesuitts, preists, nor papists, disturbe the Commonwealth, nor euade the lawes, and alsoe that they may bee distinguishd by by this character or meanes *videlicet* an oath to bee administred to them wherein they shall adiure the Romish Bishopp, transubstantiation, purgatory, worshipp of images, and other superstitious errors of the Romane Church; that care may bee taken concerning the educating of the children of papists in the faith and religion of the protestants, of leauying the mulcts agaynst papists, and that the benefitt of them may bee disposed of att the will and pleasure of both howses; that there bee prouision made concerning the repressing the endeauours of the papists, agaynst the Commonwealth, and the lawes to be exequuted agaynst them without frawde, and that administracion and frequenting of masse may bee more strictly

forbidden whether in the Court, or in any other place within England and Ireland;

3d. That the power of land and sea militia throwgh England and Ireland may soly recide in the power of both howses of parliament, that itt may bee lawfull for them to rayse and exercise what number of sowldiers they please, and to leade them where they please: and to leauy what moneys they see good for their pay, by which meanes they may oppose intestine tumults and forraigne inuasions; nor shall the king nor his successors challenge any right in itt for the space of twenty yeares: which passt ouer, iff it shall seeme to the peeres and commons of both sessions of parliament to concerne the safetye of the Commonwealth that a sea or Land Army bee raysed and pay bee appointed, and that they may decree the same by their owne authority, and that decree may enioy the vigor and force of a lawe or statute (the king notwithstanding contradicting itt;) iff men of what quality soeuer shall come togeather to the number of 30,: and shall not lay downe armes by command from the peeres and Commons of both howses of parliament, bee accounted guilty of high treason, beyond all hope of obtayning pardon from the king; to augment these, were added certaine prouisions concerning the city of London and ordinary power of officers of iustice in giuing and executing iudgments;

4th. That itt bee enacted that the Irish cessation and all treaties there concluded with-

out consent of parliament bee repealed, that the right of prosequuting the Irish warre depend vpon the will of both howses and that the deputy or Lord leiutenant of Ireland and all officers of military or ciuill gouerment bee designed by the howses of parliament; the chancellor of Ireland, the keeper of the great seale, Treasurer, all officers of the kingdome, all iudges, gifts, offices, titles of honor, and donacions of possessions graunted from the king sence that time the cessation was made,: bee voyde;

5th. That the howses of parliament may leuy whateuer moneys they please for the payment of the publicke debts and losses,: and to whatsoeuer publick vses as they shall see heereafter to bee necessary

6th. That all honors and titles from 21th of May in the yeare of our Lord 1642 (*videlicet* att which time the keeper of the great seale withdrewe himselfe togeather with the seale from the howses of parliament) bee declared voyde; and that noe one heereafter bee receaued into the order of peeres, or shall haue his seate in the howse of peeres without the consent of both howses;

7th. That these that are to bee reckoned in the first classes of delinquents, (for soe all were branded that adhæred to the kings party, or had any way prouoked the 2 howses of parliament) to whome there will bee noe hope of pardon but shall loose their liues and fortune the king confirming itt, bee,: the princes pala-

tine Rupert, and Maurice, 3 Earles, 5 barons, 2 Bishopps, as many iudges of the kingdome 22 knightes, or thereabouts (whose names the nature of a compendium will not suffer to rehearse,:) but they were all for the most part whoe had endeauoured most of all for the king; all papists being added whatsoeuer that tooke vpp armes, by name, the Marquesse of winchester, with 2 Earles, as many Barons, and 6 knights, as alsoe all those whoe either raysed or fomented the Irish rebellion;

In the second classes are placed 50 noblemen and knights, all the parliament men of the lower howse, whoe deserting the parliament went ouer to the kings side; moreouer all the iudges, Lawyers, ecclesiasticall men, be banished the court, and their practice, ecclesiastical men of their benefices, and bee forbidden the liberty of preaching,

Those fill the third classes whoe had done anything agaynst the parliament or gaue their aduice, noe iudge iustice of peace or high sherife may heereafter followe the publicke administracion of their offices

In the fowerth classes are numbered all common sowldiers, and men of meaner condicion whose estate was vnder the valewe of 200£;

The possessions and all their goodes that were in the first classes, shall come to encrease the publick Treasury,: but of the parliament whoe were att the newe parliament att Oxford, which declared those att Westminster

guilty of treason,: 2 parts of three of their goods and possessions, of others the one halfe; of iudges, Lawyers, and ecclesiasticall persons the third and sixth part, as of all others in the third classes come to the payment of the publicke debts aforesaid; all others bee lett goe vnpunished, prouided that they binde themselues by the nacionall oath; all in the 2d and 3d classes after payment of their mulcts the pardon of both howses first obtayned, and graunted,: bee absolutely restored

8th. That all the offices and cheife gouerments of the kingdome for 20 yeares next ensuing, bee conferred, and disposed, according to the will of both howses;

9th. That the newe seale made by command of parliament, may by the kings establishment passe into the genuine seale of England, nor any other bee vsed heereafter: and that all graunts and offices remayne signed and confirmed by this newe one, all being vnvalide and voyde which were graunted vnder the old (that was in the kings power) from that time that the Lord Litleton first surreptitiously conueyhed itt away from the parliament

10th. That all priuiledges, graunts, charters and immunitions of the city of London bee confirmed by iterated institutions; that the tower of London and militia bee regulated at the will of the Lord mayor, Aldermen, and common councell there, and noe citizen bee prest to the warre beyond the præcincts of the city vnlesse by command of both howses of parliament;

11th. This finally was the last that the court of wards bee absolutely suppressed and taken downe with all offices and places apertayning itt, that all seruices exacted by that name cease all the inheritances (which were holden by the possessors of them *in capite* or knights seruice) bee freed from all burdens and charges paying notwithstanding in recompence to the king 50000£ yearely

These were the condicions proposed from the parliament for peace as to the argument or substance of entring into the treaty soe vehemently sought for with the wishes of all, and armes of very many,: nothing altered from those which were formerly sent to the king whilst hee stayed att Hampton Court,: and which were not then by the king alone but by the Army alsoe repudiated as somewhat vniust and rigorous, differing only in this, that in these last there was noe regard or mencion made of the Scotts; The peacemakers moreouer were inuested with noe other authority, then answering the kings arguments, and introducing reasons to gayne the kingly assent; noe power of mollifying one proposition of them, or changing any worde, noe not soe much as to passe ouer the very præface; but they are commanded to giue the parliament notice euer and anon of the kings concessions, and the whole proceedings of the treaty, to committ all to writing; yea in this order to discusse of the propositions not descending to another proposition before the former was agreed of; Nor was itt enough that the condicions and commissioners were

limited with soe seuere prescriptions but the place of treaty alsoe *videlicet* Att Newport in the Ile of Wight; They more narrowly determine the time which shoulde not exceede 40 daies;

To the king thus semblably summoned to a Treaty, liberty was thus farre indulgd to goe out of the prison where hee was into the more large confinement of the Iland, interposing alsoe his promise that hee woulde not depart out of the Iland for the space of 40 daies after the Treaty; Moreouer those seruants of the king that were necessary for seruice, or councell, are sent for, and that by name, and with the parliaments great caution, councellors, diuines, with a secretary, which notwithstanding are not admitted to come into the Hall or place of Treaty, but to stand in the entrance behinde the Hangings,: soe that one and one king alone doeth nowe oppose himselfe both as a politician and diuine to the most select politicians and parliamentary diuines of the whole kingdome; In finishing the treaty the king alone sifted and refuted all arguments of moment with wisdome and force of arguing almost incredible,: yea with soe great a lenity of receeding and yealding hee graunted euen those desires which hee reproued as vnjust soe bee that they ruined not his honor, or his conscience,: that hee drewe all men into admiration; and that hee was of a witt altogeather diuine appeares by this that hee euen made his greatest enemies to bee vnwillingly of his opinion, although they were retayned by reason of their employment, and hazard of their heads, and a refractory conscience to pro-

longue the dispute ; certainely hee most clearely manifested a fatherly benignity, whenas hee woulde haue redeemed his people from the miseries of warre by his owne losse ;

The treaty for a while feruently continued in composing of matters,: whenas beholde the parliament was acquainted that the Marquesse of Ormond was sent into Ireland furnished with authority from the king and graced with the title of Lord Leiutenant whereby hee might more eminently command all Ireland and establish a generall peace with the best condicions hee coulde,: as alsoe that hee might forme an Army to free the king from captiuity; Letters are sent concerning this matter to the Commissioners in the Ile of wight being commanded to desire of the king that hee woulde recalle Ormonds commission, and that hee woulde inhibite that power of pacification as too much offensiue ; In the meane space the transactions of the Treaty are carried peace meale to the parliament where many of a minde as much auerse as the kings was inclinable to peace carpe and pull all by litle and litle into peeces, vnlesse his consent bee in their owne tearmes and according to their præscript forme,: and withall fearing what some of them openly acknowledged least the king rendring them masters of their desires there woulde bee noe roome left for future emnity or complaynt ; But the king beyond all mens expectacion agreing to many of them not only admitted the sence, but satisfyed their scruples also in the very wordes : Moreouer hee granted the very preface

not soe much apertayning to the publick peace as itt branded him and his with Ignominy,: yet with some vnwillingnes and not without this caution promised, *videlicet* that nothing showlde bee esteemed or taken as graunted in this present Treaty vntill there showlde bee a generall agreement of all the rest; Hee graunts the first proposition of recalling declaracions; The third concerning the militia; The fowrth concerning the administracion of Ireland; The fifth, the payment of publick debts (soe that they bee cast into an exact account within 2 yeares) the 6th of abrogating titles of honour, the 8th of the cheife offices of the kingdome,: The 9th concerning the great seale; The 10th of the priuiledges of the city of London: The 11th of the Court of Wards,: soe that there may bee payed yearely in requitall a hundred thowsand pounds,: In all these hee gaue himselfe an easy prey to the coueteousnes and ambition of others; and whilst hee endeauours to render the kingdome peaceable to others,: hee suffers itt to bee snatched out of his owne hands; hee giues his assent to all the articles of the second proposition except that only concerning Bishopps and their reuenewes,: and yet hee was not altogeather wanting to the wishes of the parliament in that; for whatsoeuer was not plainely manifested to proceed from diuine institution hee suffers altogeather to bee abrogated; and to that purpose the extirpation of Archbishopps and the Jurisdiction of the Bishopps, that is to say of the power of exercising ecclesiasticall discipline or

gouerment,: but hee permitts not the power of ordayning of Deacons, and præsbiters placed in them by right apostolicall to bee abolished; Butt att lenght the masters of the Sinode and pacificators (introducing amongst other arguments which hee coulde better refute the engine of necessity as alsoe giuing him hope that the parliament woulde yealde to him in other things, soe bee that hee woulde but something abate in this matter of the rigor of his conscience) hee suffers the power of ordinacion not to bee exercised by the Bishopps without consent of the præsbytery yea to bee suspended; vntill aduize had with 20 diuines chosen by himself and the Sinode summoned by command of parliament, some certaine forme of ecclesiasticall gouerment might bee constituted to which hee promiseth to consent with the parliament till which time hee refuseth not that præsbitery bee established for experiments sake, but being terrified with the horror of sacriledge hee permitteth not their possessions and reuenewes to bee solde and alianated from the church, but to bee leased out for 99 yeares att a small yearely rent in testimony of hereditary right and for the maintenance of the Bishopps,: and that they may bee permitted to reuert to the crowne and to bee collected for the vse of the church; in the Interim certainely concluding within himselfe that redeeming them out of his proper reuenewes they should bee bestowed vpon ecclesiasticall vses but hee coulde not confirme with his subscription the 7th proposition concerning delinquents,: (being in his owne dangers not

vnmindfull of his freinds) neuerthelesse hee suffred that a moderate mulct of money showlde bee sett vpon them and that they showlde bee forbidden accesse to the king and court,: as alsoe some of them to bee banished the kingdome, but not vnder the nocion of a Traitor, nor to bee punished with losse of goods and possessions,: but a pecuniary mulct showlde bee inflicted vpon them, iff they did otherwise; That they showlde bee depriued of their right of sitting in parliament for 3 yeares,: and iff itt shoulde bee thought meete all they showlde deseruedly suffer punishment whoe fauoured the kings part that had done anything agaynst the declared lawes of England; but hee esteemed itt very vniust that any one showlde bee punished for performing his allegiance and fidelity to him as according to his conscience and the municipall lawes, by a lawe made after the fact; Moreouer hee was pleased to graunt the other articles of the same proposition,: with this prouisoe on condicion, that itt showlde bee lawfull for ecclesiasticall men that were honest and learned and free from scandall to enioy the third part of their benifices, nor showlde they bee altogeather forbidden the function of preaching; but the power giuen by himselfe to Ormond in that instant of time when hee was deliuered to prison hee coulde not reuoke: vnlesse in the rest the parliament and hee showlde agree; iff that came to passe: then hee will bee pleased to adde his consent to the 4th proposition *videlicet* That the Irish affayres showlde bee gouerned att the appointment and will of the

2 howses of parliament; In the meane while hee writeth letters to Ormond, in which hee Commands that hee doe nothing in exequuting that power as long as the Treaty or any hope of peace continued;

During the Treaty (least that the kings maiesty showlde continually sustayne unæquall returnes as alsoe that hee might assay what intentions they parliament men carried towards to him,:) the king exhibites propositions sufficiently and publikely profitable, to bee sent to the parliament; first hee desires that hee may haue liberty to come to London, or to any other of his owne pallaces, and to bee neere to treate with the 2 howses of parliament,: and that hee may doe this freely, honourably, and securely; which request the propositions being condiscended vnto the parliament promise to graunt, hauing notwithstanding sownded the mindes of the citizens, and being incouraged by the subscriptions of all, or att leastwise the best, and farre the greatest number;

2dly. The king desires that hee may receaue all the reuenewes, and emoluments of the crowne;

3dly. That hee may haue satisfaction for his legitimate rights which the parliament shall thincke fitt to abrogate; these alsoe the parliament doe not with much vnwillingnes graunt;

4thly. That there bee a lawe established of forgetfulnes or oblivion, of all matters which happened to bee illegally done in this cruell warre, that the memory of itt bee extinguished; To these desires they giue not their approbations but with cautions, and limitations, such as might giue

licence or toleracion to the parliaments agents to prosequute any one of the kings party; Affayres thus almost vnanimously composed altogeather beyond expectacion,: the Commissioners of pacification (though vayne guessers) promised peace euen to the king himselfe, which they apprehended in theire thoughts; supposing as itt was meete, that the two howses of parliament woulde somewhat receede from their rigide demands,: whenas the king to pacifie them had denuded himselfe altogeather of the gouerment of both kingdomes, of England and Ireland; yea the ioyfull newes of an agreement of all things, thind almost in the most doubtfull apprehensions, and without doubt woulde haue followed, had not these factious persons, whoe long sence by their clandestine arts had obtruded vs into the warres, nowe openly beguiled vs of the wished fruit of the treaty and peace, that in all probability woulde suddenly haue succeeded; but by what meanes they effected itt, to you that are strangers will bee worth your attention to vnderstand which I shall relate (to my power) with the greatest fidelity;

Whilst the diett or Treaty was kept on foote that parte of the Army which formerly tried the happy chance of warr, and brought home their conquering ensignes, had itts standing campe vnder the command of ffairefax; (to whome as an euill genius Ireton adioyned himselfe) soe neere to London that they might march thither within the space of halfe a day to suppresse and quash their vnprouided aduersaries, iff any sudden

occasion required itt; Att which time ffairefax, Ireton and the rest of the Colonells in publicke behaued themselues very submissiuely,: declaring that they woulde alwaies readily obey the pleasure of the two howses of parliament,: and that a generall peace woulde bee most acceptable to them before all things, by which meanes being freed from the troubles of warre, they might looke after their priuate affayres,: and after soe many hazards sustayned and vndergone they might nowe att lenght bee att rest; Neuerthelesse (priuately participating their councells with their faction mingled in the parliament) they suffer the common sowldiers, in their bands and regiments, and officers of lesser note to haue their priuate meetings and to frame petitions,: (in which they instantly require that the Treaty bee made voyde with the king, as alsoe att that time craftily petitioning, that punishment might bee inflicted vpon all the enemies of the Commonwealth without distinction, therein reflecting vpon the person of the king;) as alsoe to diuulge and sett them foorth in print to sownde the mindes of the common people, (and doubtfull itt was whether the Leaders, and colonells of the regiments were not the authors of these petitions;) To the same intent they sende foorth their emissaries (especially Hugh peeters a desertor of the ministry euen to reproach, a diligent, impudent, malepert or shameles man,) whoe allure the sowldiers in all places where they were disposed,: whoe of themselues were prone enough to spoyle and newe matters; In the interim as

soone as they had dissipated the insurrections of the common people,: (which before tolde you of,:) and cowlde setle garrisons in all the counties and fitte themselues for their march all the sowldiers of the kingdome are sent for to the headquarters of ffairefax, whoe glorying in their victories encrease their number,: very many following the conquering side; Ireton a report of some contention being risen betwene him and ffairfax and publicly spread abroad) priuately conueyhes himself into the castle of Windsor, and frames a remonstrance, with great appearance of wordes, and ambitious eloquence, in which hee inveighes in the name of the Army against making peace with the king, and the restoring of the king with I knowe not what arguments of litle validity; yea hee requires iustice bee inflicted vpon the kings head; hee desires that the eleaven members of parliament which the Army accused the yeare before of treason may bee brought to iustice, and all others excluded from the parliament, whoe heeretofore adhæred to the twoe howses of parliament, when the two speakers fled to the Army, and the rest that were enslaued to that faction; that the arreares due to the sowldiers may bee paid out of the kings reuenewe, and the possessions of the Deanes and chapters to bee solde, especially to this end to beare out the publicke charge; that a period bee sett to this present parliament, and a newe one to beginne heereafter more equally chosen of the repræsentatiues of the people, in which showlde recide the cheife managery of all affayres; and

many other thinges of this nature hee requires, enough for the Imperye or absolute gouerment of the kingdome;

The end of the Treaty nowe approaching, which to prolongue and disturbe with their artifices, was the sedulous care of the factions of Oligarchy and Dæmocracy that were in the 2 howses of parliament that the Army might more conueniently conueene togeather) The commanders of the Army being instructed from the Ile of wight and from the parliament of the proceedings of all thinges, and for making choyse of a fitt oportunity for their ends calle a councell of warre,: wherein all Colonells and military officers of lesser ranck conueened; There they receaue with soe great applause the remonstrance of Ireton being then prouduced and read as iff itt fell from heauen, and inscribe vpon itt (as iff approued by all) the formidable title of the Army; To conclude they procure itt to bee sent to the parliament in the name of the Army and people of England, to the confirmacion of which iff voyces had been thought requisite to haue been required scarse one of a thowsand would haue giuen his assent; and the rest had deuoted their treacherous heads to this wicked act with most assured safety, (though itt were the destruction of humane kinde to the gallowes;) but the members of the Lower howse of parliament, in that time of extreme necessity, tooke vpon them soe much courage, as they dared (for that time laying aside the remonstrance insist vpon deliberating the kings concessions which was then in their hands,:

which the officers of the Army tooke in great indignation, in that they were vnworthily vsed by them whoe had receaued all the dignity they enioyed from them,: and thereupon sending auxiliary forces into the Ile of wight they lay hands vpon the king whome carrying out of the Iland they shutt vpp in Hurst castle (which on the other side had itts prospect towards the Iland,: a place most narrowe and by reason of the sea encompassing itt very vnwholesome,) they alsoe command their ensignes to bee aduanced towards London; They afterwards place garrisons in the kings howses, and in the howses of the noblemen that are neere confining to the courts of the parliament howse, and the Army is quartered all about the neighbouring places, hoping that for feare of this soe great boldenes, those that were of the contrary opinion woulde slippe away into their hiding places,: (as they were accustomed) and men of their faction ouerawing the parliament they might securely patronage this their violence vnder the specious pretence or vizard of parliamentary authority, and whatsoeuer votes might serue their turnes, or establish their decrees; but the euent deceaued their expectacion,: for the most of the parliament men nothing terrified with the rage of the sowldiers thronging about them, and noyse of their armes, sufficiently fortefied with the authority of parliament (for soe they persuaded themselues,:) they goe to councell thither more frequently then they were wont; In the lower howse they eagerly discourse, euen vntill the next day concerning the kings conces-

sions, (concerning præsbitery, the nacionall couenant, and delinquents in which the king had not giuen satisfaction to the desires of parliament;) In this interim the Independent Oligarchians and Dæmocratians, or Leuellers cast in scruples and scatter abroad contentions that they may make seuerall parties, they spinne out the time with their long speeches that the whole Army might haue time to march into the City; Att lenght they fall vpon this conclusion,: that the kings concessions were a fitt foundation for them to establish peace, which vote is confirmed by 200 voyces (sarce 60 men dissenting;) which vote the vpper howse doeth without delay confirme the day following in the very same tearmes,: proroguing presently their conuention for 7 daies (vntill this force, and violence were somewhat allayed;) commissioners and messengers are foorthwith chosen to whom itt was giuen in charge to certifye ffairefax and the rest of the Commanders of the Army concerning that result; This the oligarchians soe ill resented, that the speaker Lenthall (whoe with much greedines nowe participated of their folly and madnes) instantly and publickly with much vehemence threatned the members of the lower howse,: that iff with constancy they had adhæred to this their vote they would neuer afterward have liberty of conueening in parliament; and soe itt came to passe for the very next day of their sitting,: some Colonells with one or twoe regiments of foote guarded with a regiment of horse besett all the passages of the lower howse and lay hands vpon 40 of the most

cordiall and resolute parliament men (then entring into the house,:) who were auerse to their designes; They driue away 150 others more or lesse from the howse of parliament, nor suffer they admission to any, vnlesse they sufficiently knewe them to fauour their faction; but some of them hauing the happe to escape this scrutiny, as soone as they vnderstood they were entred into the parliament howse, and possessed there their seates they sende a noate as from some one of their clients or freinds as iff itt were to haue conference with them and thrusting them towards the gate, they pull them out by force out of the very howse of commons in vayne calling on the authority of parliament; The captiue members of parliament being many waies miserably husled are exposed to scorn and contempt, and are macerated with the loathsomnes of imprisonment; and amongst them very many whoe stifly maintayned the parliament cause and were of the cheifest ranck, either Leiutenant generalls, gouernors, or Colonells, whoe had done them valiant and faithfull seruice in the conclusion reaped this requitall; yea prinne the Indefatigable author of publishing and dispersing writings in behalfe of the parliament, nowe pertakes of the same vsage with the rest; Hence may wee plainely admire att the vnserchable iudgments of god that suffered them to bee so vnworthyly entreated by their owne mercenaries, whoe being subiects had before layed most impudent hands vpon their king; and this alsoe is graced with the glosse of purging the parliament and title of reformacion;

Thus the lower howse is reduced to very fewe men and those altogeather enslaued to the Army, or (as I may more truly say) to the cheife commanders of the Army, with whome and those in parliament was commerce to and agen and dayly conferring of their votes; and what was first decreed in the councell of warr, was afterwards proposed to bee established by the parliament (nowe agayne seruing vnder the sowldiery;) the vizard of whose authority they applye to their determinations of soe many hundred parliament men; Att lenght the number of those that repayred to the howse scarse challenging the name of a parliament hardly reached forty, and those not only the least, but the very worst, and which were made vpp of the very dregges of both howses; Moreouer alsoe the greatest part of these were commanders of the Army,: soe that nowe there remayned altogeather nothing of parliament except the name; some of those alsoe trembling att soe great an Impiety fled from their fellowshipp, whoe being deluded vnder pretence of conscience addicted themselues to the Independents party,: These fewe sordide men consult of the cheifest affayres of England,: *videlicet* of punishing the king with death of making, and repealing, the lawes of the countrey,: altogeather subuerting the very foundations of the old gouerment; These men I say blush not to arrogate to themselues alone the handling of these matters; The decree or vote heeretofore of noe addresse to the king,: they confirme anewe,: repealing those other as surrep-

titious and deceitfully extorted (though repealed by the full vogue of both howses of parliament;) the other alsoe of a Treaty with the king they declare to bee voyde,: that vote cheifly is exploded in which they ordayne the concessions of the king to bee a fitt foundation for establishing of a future peace: and with mockery is expunged, as notoriously vnworthy and noe way parliamentary; newe votes are substituted in place of the former and that by the howse of commons only and by this meanes gayning the gouerment by their suffrages which they had before acquired by their armes;

First they enact, that all power doeth primarily recide in the people;

2dly. That; that power doeth apertayne to the howse of Commons, as the delegates, and repræsentatiues of the people,: (for soe they woulde haue themselues acknowledged,)

3dly. For the future that the decrees of the people or howse of commons showlde passe into the efficacy of a lawe, without the consent of the king or howse of peeres; By Horaces lawe: what the communalty shall discerne fitt lett that bee a guide or rule to the people;

4thly. That itt showlde bee Treason to rayse armes or wage warr agaynst the repræsentatiue of the people or parliament;

5thly. That the king himselfe had taken vpp armes agaynst the parliament, and therefore guilty of the bloud that was shed in this ciuill warr, and that his proper bloud showlde bee a sacrifize to wash away the crime (and a sufficient satisfaction

to diuert the iudgment of god that hung over their heads;

This was a præludium to that great and heynous attempt (which was meete for them to perpetrate by leasure) and I tremble to relate;)

They nowe hauing so great a power: (euen as much as they thought conuenient to assume) are not affrayed to erect a newe court agaynst the king, composed of his most abiect subiects; which they tearme a supreme Court of Iustice borrowing itts reuerence from the apellacion; ouer wich court is constituted a hundred and 50 iudges, (that att the least they may repræsent the number of the people;) all of them desperate assertors of that faction; to whome they giue power of summoning before them, hearing, iudging, and punishing with death Charles Stewart king of England; In which number are inserted six peeres of the vpper house, and all the iudges of the kingdome, lately elected by themselues: the maion part being commanders of the Army (whoe had before conspiringly contriued the destruction of the king) members of the lower house most deadly enemies to the name of the king: the rest of them were of the city of London or dregges of the neighbouring parts; amongst which one and a second was a shoemaker . . . . goldsmiths and other mechanick persons whoe sate in the court as alsoe riotous persons, brewers, and many of them whoremasters (whoe notwithstanding were deemed saincts by the disciples of their owne sect;) yea there was noe one of them whoe hoped not for impunity for their sacrilegious robbing of

their prince or detayning of goods from the commonwealth and other heynous offences or else expected the kings reuenewes and palaces showlde bee giuen them, or gainefull offices distributed amongst them for perpetrating soe detestable a villany;

In this interim there was noe regard had of the peeres: itt being commonly reported that they voluntarily absented themselues from the vpper howse terrified with the apprehension of soe great dangers,: except 4 or 5 that engaged themselues to the sect of the Oligarchians; the authority of which these factious men, thought sufficiently valide to confirme any of their horride facts; neither was their hope altogeather frustrated, though itt deceaued them vnfortunately in the cheifest matter fewe of the peeres being accustomed dayly to frequent the parliament; but that day when the decree was carried to the howse of peeres of summoning the king to the court of Justice seauentene were vnexpectedly present,: whoe all of them, (even those not occepted that fauoured the Oligarchians) doe not only forbeare to giue their assent, but alsoe reiect the very decree ittselfe as damnable and fownded vpon noe lawes; whereupon these notorious vsurpers beginne violently to rage and breath out reuenge for being thus branded with soe publick an Infamy; but for the present they had thought they had done enough, to expunge all the peeres out of the number of those iudges assigned agaynst the king; moreouer not long after the iudges of the kingdome were exempted

out of the same list, because their opinions being priuately demanded in this busines, (notwithstanding they were very lately by the mediation of the faction of the Nouators and with authority of parliament advanced into their offices) answered that itt was agaynst the receaved lawes and customes of England to bring the king to triall; A præsident they nominate to this court one whoe brought with him as litle fame, as dignity to the office or employment *videlicet* Bradshawe, a iangling fellowe, of an obscure parentage, and of a brazen forehead and petulant tongue, one that was very lately amongst men of his owne profession of noe regard; a solicitor alsoe one Cooke of the same calling, a sordide, and needy man, (and reported guilty of poligamy) hauing tried a thowsand arts, and as many abominable practises to gett him only a subsistance and being, ready in hope of a litle gayne to committ any villany; They priuately consult for some daies of the substance and forme or manner of perpetrating this odious fact; and to præpare the kings accusation they conferre the greatest charge vpon one Dorislawe a doctor of lawe and a german (whether a banished man, or a runnagate I knowe not;) in this interim almost all the præsbiterian ministers of the churches in London, openly exclayme and move out of very many counties, yea some of the Independent party, in their sermons, letters, conferences, protestacions and remonstrances, publickly diuulged, they beseech that they would not agaynst the fearefull obligacions of soe many oaths against the publick and priuate faith, confirmed by

declaracions, and promises, agaynst the lawe of nations, agaynst the sacred dictates of the Scripture and religion, yea agaynst the proffitt of the Commonwealth imbrewe their hands, and the kingdome in the blood of the king; the Scotch by their commissioners protest against itt, the confederate states of the lowe countries interpose by their agents, vsing all their endeauours by entreaty, offring alsoe a great some of money, the nobles of England offer themselues, as pledges for the king (and iff they required itt) the punishment they intended agaynst him to bee inflicted vpone euery one of them, they being those that committed the offence iff the king had any way offended; the people rage and mutter hardly brideling their foolish wrath being without ability to resist; but all this was in vayne for from those attempts the Nouators easily defend themselues, vnder the pretence of diuine prouidence and impulse of the holy spiritt, to the suggestion of which peeters commands them to hearken vnto (a buffoone, of an impudent and stony forehead whoe left Cambridge being there ignominiously whipt, and from that time forward, vsing his vtmost endeauours for all scismaticks, being an egregious liar and an adulterer, yett the worthy apostle of these men,:) hee declareth that the time was nowe come that the saincts shoulde binde the kings and nobles of the earth in chaynes and linckes of Iron (thus did this prophane knaue interprett the holy scripture) and admonisheth that they showlde not doubt but that the prophesye did belong to them; hee likewise in his

prayer before his sermon calls them holy iudges,: protesting that hee had found fiue thowsand saincts in the Army altogeather as worthy of the appellacion as those that were conuersant in heauen with god Almighty himselfe,: and bowing his knees on purpose with fayned teares, and lifted vpp hands hee earnestly requires in the name of the people of England that iustice bee exequuted vpon Charles, and that they would not dismisse Benhadad their enemye vnpunished, yea hee most insolently rayles agaynst Monarchye ittselfe and excelling in a nimble and sharpe witt hee illustrates the History, where the trees in choosing them a king, the vine, and the oliue, refusing that office the bramble vndertooke this rigide dominacion declaring that the kingly gouerment was like to that of the Bramble; with these and such like Arguments hee excites and confirmes these newe iudges more then enough cruelly bent in their owne dispositions agaynst the king; Another common cryer alsoe besides this peeters is dessigned by these commissioners of iustice, being guarded with a troope of horse (least hee showlde bee ouerwhelmed with stones) with trumpetters goeing before him hee summons all to appeare and declare what crimes they knowe agaynst the king, which was first published in Westminster Hall, afterwards in the most publick places of the city of London;

Before these newe iudges sitting vpon this newe tribunall the most glorious king Charles diuested of 3 flourishing kingdomes (iff they had permitted them soe to continue) that which nowe

only remaynes is brought foorth to bee depriued of, *videlicet* his life yet makes hee noe discouery of an incomposed minde or countenance; The accusation is read wherein hee is accused in the name of the people of England of Treason, Tiranny, and of all the murders and rapines that were committed in the warr, many thinges by way of aggrauation being cast in,: to conclude they lay the whole weight of this reproachfull charge vpon him, that hee had waged warr agaynst the parliament (which yet they themselues had broached both by force and armes,:) a great company being spectators, whoe with groanes, sighes, and teares, bewayle the lamentable destiny of the best of princes; The king, hauing heard this calumnious accusation, in whose countenance and words appeared that maiesty the height of which cannot fitly bee expressed,: demands of those newe iudges by what authority they brought before their tribunall or iudgment seate their king, their king (sayth hee) by the most indubiate right, agaynst the publick faith (which was lately giuen him by the members of both howses instituting the treaty;) hee emphatically demands, by what lawfull authority for sayth hee, I am not Ignorant, that many tiranicall authorities doe euery where violently rage, founded vpon noe lawes, such as were those of theeues and robbers in the high waies,: hee therefore wishes them to declare by what right they assumed vnto themselues this power, of what nature or quality soeuer itt were, and hee woulde willingly answer what they could obiect agaynst

him; which iff soe bee that they coulde not,: hee admonisheth them that they would auerte from their owne and the kingdomes heads this their intended purging sacrifize, making this inmutable and fixed resolucion to himselfe that whatsoeuer they showlde doe to him, hee woulde not betray his countrey deliuered to him from god and established, and confirmed by a long descent of antiquity; The præsident affirmes, that hee was heere brought to triall by the right and power of the people of England, by whose election hee was made king; To this the king replies,: that the kingdome diuolued to him as noe way electiue, but hereditary and that aboue a thowsand yeares, that hee did manifestly assert the rights of the people as well in denying their illegitimate and arbitrary authority, as in affirming these or any other whatsoeuer to bee his iudges,: That the power and right of the people was inuested in ye members of both howses of parliament,: but heere I see noe one of the order of nobility, whoe ought to bee present in the constituting of a parliament, as alsoe the king to bee one member of it,: for sayth hee not either or both howses of parliament nor any other court of Judicature in the whole circumference of the Earth, hath any power or iurisdiction ouer the king of england,: much lesse some newe suborned and entitled iudges of the lower howse carrying the vizard of that authority which they had trod vnder foote; att lenght hee warnes them that they woulde att leastwise produce their authority and hee woulde not bee wanting to make

his defence because itt was the same thing to him to yeald to a tirannicall vsurpation, as to one lawfully confirmed; In all which the præsident oftentimes interrupted his discourse and att the lenght commands them to take away the prisoner; And nowe both the second and third time is the best of kings brought before the Tribunall of the Common people,: where the præsident accuseth him of the crimes before rehearsed, and commands him to answer to those Articles that were obiected agaynst him, vnlesse hee had rather heare his finall and capitall sentence; The king notwithstanding doeth constantly and diligently enquire of the authority of that Court, saying, that hee esteemed his life inferior to his honor, conscience, the lawes and libertye of the people: which that they may not all perish togeather hee giues weighty reasons wherefore itt was not lawfull for him to prosequute his defence before those iudges, nor acknowledge this newe forme of Judicature: for what power was there euer graunted to subiects to erect a Tribunall or Court of Judicature agaynst their king, by what lawes,: not by the diuine for itt on the contrary enioynes obedience to princes, nor the lawe of this nacion, or countrey, seeing that the lawes command that all writts issue foorth in the kings name, nor doe they indulge the least power of iudging the most abiect, or vilest subiect to the lower howse or howse of Commons; nor to conclude doeth this power flowe (which may bee Imagined, from an extraordinary deputacion of the people,: sith that not the tenth man hee coulde haue sayed, one of

a thowsand was euer desired in this matter; The præsident eftsoones as before interrupting his speech, nowe more Insolently and sharpely rebukes him, and biddes him bee mindefull of his condicion, affirming that the power of the Court was abundantly manifest; nor woulde the Court heare any reasons, which went about to derogate from its authority and Jurisdiction; but sayth the king, what Court is there, or what countrey where there is noe place for reasons,: To this the præsident subioynes,: you shall finde this to bee of that nature; att which (the king vrges) that they woulde att least permitt him to exhibite his reasons in writing, to which iff they gaue satisfaction hee woulde submitt to their Jurisdiction; The præsident was not content simply to denye this but ouer and aboue boyling with indignacion commands them to take away the prisoner,: whoe returnd noe other replye then this remember that I am your king from whome you turne away your eares; In vayne truely may my subiects expect iustice from you whoe haue stopt your eares agaynst the king pleading his owne cause;

The king is nowe the fowrth time brought before this Court of Iustice (or rather iniustice) as I may truely stile itt; where the præsident shining in his scarlett bitterly inveighes agaynst the contumacy of the king, much and long commending the patience and long suffering of the court hee commands that hee woulde nowe att lenght submitt himselfe to the court,: otherwise hee showlde heare the finall sentence pronounced

agaynst him; The king for all this constantly refuseth to pleade his cause before them yet affirming that hee had something appertaining to the welfare of the people, and peace of the kingdome which hee desired liberty to vnfolde before the members of both howses of parliament; but these men alsoe vouchsafe not to graunt this fauour to him (which was not wonted to bee denied to men of the meanest condicion) least their concession showlde auayle to the delay or stay of iustice; To this the king replies, that they might rather vndergoe the hazard, of one or two daies delay, then of a rash and præcipitate sentence, that woulde bring with it continuall Tragedies, and miseries vpon infants not yet borne,: for sayth hee, iff I had sought occasions of delay I had pleaded my cause more elaborately, and by a witnessed controuersy, which might have sufficed to have protracted time, or att leastwise a litle retarded soe deformed a sentence,: but I shall soe behaue myselfe as a defendor of the lawes and the rights of my countrey, that I had rather dye for them, as my peoples Martir,: then to enioy any liberty whatsoeuer to myselfe by prostituting them to the cruelty of the sworde; but I therefore desire this short priuiledge of speaking, before this foule and horride sentence bee past, which I well knowe to bee as difficult to retract as itt is to preuent; but for all this the præsident proceedes with the same inmanity to the sentence with a premeditated speech, in which hee aggrauates the contumacy of the king and the outragiousnes of the crime,: hee vpholdes the Authority

of parliament, producing examples both domestick and forraigne, especially from Scotland, (which they seemed to haue by custome) by which the people might calle their kings in quæstion,: hee affirmes that the people of England had noe lesse power ouer their kings, as his guilt was much greater then that of all others,: because itt was hee, that (according to the wish of Caligula) had endeauoured to haue cut the throats of the whole kingdome, by his leauying warre agaynst the parliament; and foorthwith hee commands the sentence to bee read in this forme,

Whereas Charles Stewart is accused by the people of Tiranny, Treason, and murder, and other euill miscarriages, nor will answer anything for himselfe and being nowe att lenght found guilty of contumacye and those crimes that are obiected agaynst him, the aforesaid Charles Stewart is adiudged to death by seuering his head from his body;

Which being pronounced, those sixty seauen iudges that were present (the rest amongst whome was Fairfax absenting themselues in detestacion and horror of such a nefarious fact) upon the præsidents inuitacion arise in approbacion of the sentence, being puft vpp with the thought of so bolde and impudent an attempt; and thereupon the kings sacred maiesty is hurried away, and mocked att by the sowldiers, and this is the procœme or prologue of their most barbarous patricide (in many things hee suffered like vnto our Saviour Christ,) they giuing all reuerence to the kingly name, doe as itt were triumphe ouer him

being their prisoner,: and with sauage barbarisme calle for Justice, Justice, (the aforesaid peeters instigating them) as in times past the Jewes, lett him bee crucified, lett him bee crucified, they spitt vpon his garments as hee passed by them, and one (that was amongst other bystanders a colonell that came foorth from the kings iudges, not without the great acclamation of the sowldeiers) defiled his venerable countenance with his detestable frothy spitle; They blowe into his mouth the smoake of Tobacco which they knewe was hatefull to him and cast peeces of timber before his feete as hee was walking; they discourteously entreat all others that seemd to pitty him, yea and one, that was yet a litle more courteous, whoe sighing begged god to forgiue this their wickednes they kill outright, after this they carry him into a priuate chamber where they permitt him not to bee alone or priuate day nor night, nor to enioy the comfort of his chaplaynes, of which only one (*videlicet* the Bishopp of London) to whome and that with much adoe was indulged the liberty of accesse,: whome they prosequute with laughter whilst hee was performing those sacred seruices, after the English manner; they stoppe and diuert him with biting taunts, and friuolous quæstions, yea and disturbe him when hee was preparing to vndergoe his latest extremity; but hee with a great magnanimity of spiritt turning towards them that stood nearest him whilst some of the sowldiers loudely exclaymed for iustice; sayth o miserable wretches, the same woulde you towards your owne cap-

taynes, euen for a very small some of money,: and when hee receaued their spittle sayd only this, Christ hath suffered more for my sake; hee maintayned his cause with such valide and prægnant arguments agaynst the commanders of the Army and other sowldiers and importunate Anabaptists whoe came to assayle him with friuolous arguments and disputacions that hee shutt the mouthes of most of them; hee dissembled theyre scoffes and mockes with a facile contempt; hee euaded their petulancy by neglecting itt; yea in this time of extremity, and amongst this barbarismes, of tumultuous sowldiers, his minde was alwaies composed to piety and religion,: to the confession of his sinnes, to the pardoning of his enemies, in receauing the Sacrament or Eucharist, to Holy reading, in applying himselfe to godly conference, and in exercising all the duties of piety,: Amongst the hatreds of men, hee endeauours to procure the diuine fauour, and chaseth away, and ouercommeth the terrors of death, before they coulde seaze on him;

In this interim these newe entitled iudges enter into councell in their priuate meetings, concerning the time, place, and the whole solemnitye of the death they intended to inflict vpon him,: where what abominable kinds of death, according to the hatred and cruelty of each mans inclinacion were proposed to bee exequuted vpon Cæsar that was before condemned, I am ashamed to relate,: although receaued by those that were most worthy of credite; Some ordayne that his members and head bee thrust through with a

stake, that his ignominy might last after his death, (which was wont to bee done to stubborne enemies;) others mutter that hee showlde bee strangled with a halter, after the manner of murderers, and theeves; Some woulde haue him suffer death hauing his temples couered with the kingly Diademe and clad in his royall robes, as a monument of the peoples power ouer kings; Att lenght they thincke itt sufficient that hee bee beheaded on a scaffold to that purpose before the doores of his Court of Whitehall neare his princely dining roome, and there, where hee was wont to ascende his throne and showe the pompe of sacred maiesty hee showlde nowe goe to make his funerall oration, and there lay by the pillage of maiesty, where hee had before putt on the royall ornaments,: This was the triumph this the Trophey of their vaunting reuenge; and because they had heard the king speake, that hee woulde not submitt his neck to the Axe of his subiects,: they command that the block bee fitted with hookes, and Iron chaynes to bee fastned about his neck and hands (iff soe bee that hee showlde struggle agaynst itt;) Itt is neuerthelesse not yet to bee past ouer in silence amongst these præludiums of death,: That certayne sowldiers the day before his execution came and brought propositions to him, to which iff hee woulde subscribe,: they promise to graunt him his life, and that fauour as to continue the name of a king; which reading ouer one and a 2d hee sayth I shall rather vndergoe a thowsand deaths, then thus prostitute my honour, and the liberties of my people;

The fatall day now approacheth, when the king with a breast throwghly confirmed in innocence and piety agaynst death came out of the palace of St. Jameses (nowe the kingly prison) making a foote iourney throwgh the parke of fiue hundred paces, with the same chereful countenance as iff hee had been only goeing on hunting,: where hee oftentimes calls vpon the lagging sowldiers and halberdeirs that they woulde make a more speedy march,: telling them that hee nowe outwent them to contende for a heauenly crowne, with lesser carefulnes then hee had oftentimes before, lead his sowldiers to fight for a earthly diadem; being brought into the dining roome an howres space was alotted him for prayers, that when hee had finished that graunde duty of his sowle to God Almighty,: hee might afterwards haue some time befor his death to passe away with the sowldiers; Then goeing towards that gastly stage couered ouer with black the disguised hangmen or executioners runne to meete him, the block and keene Axe are exposed to his veiwe, nor yet doe they this only to terrifye him, but that hee might haue a greater desire to liue, then carefulnes to dye; And nowe looking about for the people (whome thick sett troopes of horse droue away afarre of) and seeing that hee coulde not bee heard by them omitting (as itt was probable) the speech hee had determined to make vnto the people,: turning himselfe to the Colonells, and the rest of the officers appointed to this detestable regicide,: hee spake to them in these wordes,

I showlde not nowe say anything before you, were itt not that some men woulde interpret my silence to bee an argument of guilt, and in that opinion might imagine mee to admitt these crimes to bee iustly cast vpon mee,: the punishment of which I endure with patience; I calle God to witness my innocency, (before whose Tribunall I shall shortly stand) that itt neuer came into my thoughts to diminish the iust priviledges of parliament, nor to muster an Army, before they had made ready and lead their hostile forces agaynst mee; which to the diligent enquirer will euidently appeare, from the haughty writings commissions and declaracions issuing from both howses; yet I doe acknowledge and submissiuely embrace the diuine iustice, which by an vniust sentence hath to day past iust punishment vpon mee,: becawse heeretofore I woulde not saue an innocent man (hee meant the Lord leiutenant of Ireland) when hee was oppressed with a most vniust decree; with what charity I embrace my enimies cruelly raging against mee, this honest man canne witnesse,: (pointing his finger to the Bishopp of London) I forgiue them all euen from the very bottome of my heart,: and I earnestly beseech the God of Mercies that hee woulde vouchsafe to conferre vpon them hearty repentance, and remitt this their heynous crime; Notwithstanding I cannot whilst I drawe in this frayle breath but bee solicitously care full for the peace of my kingdome,: which I cannot more fitly att the present prouide for then by designing the way, and howe farre they haue wandred out

of itt,: and by returning to which you sowldiers may reape both proffitt and peace; I looke vpon you as most miserably gone astray; you imagine violently to snatch away the gouerment to yourselues, without any, or the least shadowe, of right, and endeauour to setle and establish the kingdome, not by the authority of lawes, but by Conquest,: to which noe right could euer accrewe except what the cause and trumpett of warre shall proclaym to bee iust; *videlicet*, for refelling iniuries, or recouering rights vniustly detayned; whereas iff extraordinary successes showlde carrye the conquerors beyond those fitt limitts of what is iust and good,: itt nothing hinders but that kingdomes thus instituted and gouerned are and may bee called great robberies,: which kinde of piracy wee read heeretofore was obiected to Alexander; But by noe other meanes canne you that haue thus farre wandred returne into the right channell of peace, not by any other aduice (beleeue mee) is there hope to diuerte the diuine Anger, then in restoring to god, king, and people, that which is their due, you must render vnto god those thinges which are his, *videlicet* his pure worshipp in introducing a church rightly ordayned according to the prescript of the diuine worde, which hath long been miserably shaken and lacerated,: and this will be most commodiously done by a Sinode rightly called and freely assigned; To the king (*videlicet* my successor) you shall render his absolute right iff you giue him those thinges which appeare by the cleare language of the lawes to belong to him; To con-

clude to the people,: you shall assure their rights and true libertye, not by elating them to sitt in the throne, and to sway the scepter, but by procuring the authority and obedience of the people to the lawes,: to the abrogating of which when I coulde by noe meanes bee brought to assent,: by the enormous domination of the sword I am hither brought to suffer as a martir for my people: To him thus gently deliuering out his last breath, in milde language the Bishop of London stepps in and desires (that iff his excellent maiesty soe pleased) hee woulde openly acknowledge what religion hee professed, not that itt was suspected to any (of which hee had att all times in the whole course of his life giuen cleare Testimonies) but hee might satisfye the people, according to the vsuall custome; To this the king replies, That his faith showlde receaue Testimony from that good man (meaning the Bishopp of London, as alsoe to bee defended by all to whome his life and conuersation was well knowne, *videlicet*, That I dye in the Christian faith according to the profession of the Church of England, euen as my father of most happy memory deliuered the same to mee; Afterwards looking about vpon the Colonells, hee sayth I haue a most mercifull god and a most iust cause, and am confident that I shall foorthwith change this corruptible crowne for another which is vncorruptible,: and that I shall goe into another kingdome that is altogeather voyde from trouble; Then turning his speech into a short prayer and rowling himselfe vpon the block, as vpon his deske where hee

was wont to pray,: hee humbled his noble neck to God to bee cut of by the disguised executioner which was suddenly done att one stroake, but with a forcible one; Thus fell king Charles and thus togeather with him all Britanne;

Nor are they nowe satiated in their cruelty agaynst him whilst hee was aliue, but his enemies spoyle his headles body, and wash their hands in his blood, and dippe their staues therein, and deale their blowes vpon his liueles trunck and cutt his body into peeces, the sand being imbrued with his blood,: They alsoe selle his hayre, and deliuer his body to bee imbowelled to a certaine Emperick, and the surgeons of the Army that most deadly hated the name of the king; (his owne phisitians being driuen away) to whome itt was giuen in charge to search diligently whether hee was tainted with any veneriall disease, or any other distemper, (and further iff they were commanded they showlde publickly declare itt;) but this villany a phisitian of a more honest and candide ingenuity suppressed in the egge (as wee say) whoe gott priuately the dissection of his body and reported that the state and constitution of his body, woulde haue permitted him to haue liued beyond the age of other men itt being confirmed for a certainety by those that veiwed him that hee was of a wonderfull temperament, both of body and minde, (almost of an exact weight;) Butt that they may att lenght arriue to the highest pitch of cruelty and enuy they doubt not nowe to ouerwhelme and bury the memory of the king in the same graue, and solemly to addict his

sowle to the infernall flames with as much ease as they are wont to discipher their owne fellowes with the title of Saincts; They violently bereaue the Bishopp of London (long detayned in prison) of those papers which the kings maiesty had deliuered to him, they rifle his deskes, cabinett and vestments, and make a seuere scrutiny into euery corner, that noe papers writt with the kings owne hand may publickly bee diuulged; And truly of many excellent monuments of piety and prudence haue they depriued the worlde; notwithstanding by the extraordinary prouidence of the Almighty and euer good god,: to the prouoking of these men to enuy, and in testimony of the immense vertue of the king; The volume of his meditations or soliloquies shewed ittselfe out of darkenes, a worke borne after itts makers death the grauity and weight of whose matter iff any one shall weigh in an equall ballance, togeather with its elegancy of stile, sinewey reasons, and ardent piety,: That hee deserued a kingdome among the writers of our age, enuy herselfe will confesse,: and that which wrested from him with nefarious boldenes a ciuill prædominancy, canne but giue him one among the learned;

Noe king not of the Britannes alone but of all that anywhere euer sate vpon the throne, left this transitory life with a greater desire of his owne, or lamentacion of others; For the rumour of his death being scattered throwgh England, The woeman suffered abortiuenes, both men and woemen fell into a panting lethargye and melancholly,: yea some expired in a sudden astonish-

ment; the Assembly of diuines did euery where expresse their sorrowe with sighes, and groanes, following those with a vayne lamentacion, for him that was thus taken away,: to whome, before, whilst hee was aliue hee was but a litle acceptable, by reason of the dissent of his opinion in ecclesiasticall gouerment; yea the very boyes (who were not accustomed to take care for, or sorrowe after, these matters,:) powred foorth their teares, and hardly woulde bee comforted,: men of all condicions, and all sortes extolled him with prayses comparing him to Job, Dauid, Solomon, in patience, piety, and prudence; Nor truely is itt easy for mee nowe not to lett goe the raynes and hoyse all sayles suffering myselfe to bee carried with the vtmost of my ingenuity throwgh the ocean of his vertues did not this litle compendium abridge mee of that libertye; I shall only therefore shewe you this sunne with a fewe and those but obscure raies; Hee was a prince that deserued to bee numbered amongst the best princes of the age, either past, or present, of greatt strenght of witt but of a greater stock of morality,: by the suffrage of all, euen his very enemies, most worthy of empire, iff hee had not nowe raigned,: whoe by the confession of all attayned to that great imperye,: to bee the same man at all times, to keepe the same tenor of vertue and morality, the same countenance in aduersity as hee was wont to haue in prosperity, whoe passing as itt where out of the torride into the frigide zone still altred nothing of the temper of his minde,: whoe euen pleased those that were

auersly vnwilling, and with a certaine inchantment as itt were appeased the hatreds of many; hee made his very enemies his adorers, and turnd their reproaches into prayses; whoe excelled in soe great prudence and vertues altogeather heroicall, that hee shined more perspicuously throwgh reproaches and calumnies; whome, his enemies imagined to bee voyde of vnderstanding, they nowe finde to bee equall iff not superior, not only to the best politicians but the most select diuines; whome, they had defamed as a timorous man, and easy to bee drawne to anything, of an vnstable beleife, and woemanish vnconstancy, they nowe finde him to bee more ready then the sowldiers in battell,: vnappalled with threates, reproachfull Acts and dangers,: yea vnshaken with the apprehension of imprisonment and death ittselfe, whome they affirmed to bee a papist, they see nowe strongly confirming the reformed apostolicall religion in his writings, and not only maintaining itt with his penn, but sealing itt with his blood; whome they declared to bee cruell, and bloody,: to that impudence of calumniating were they brought throwgh the clemency of the king, euen the veryest rebells promised to themselues that they showlde bee too easily receaued by him, vntill by their aspiring fortune being carried beyond the boundes of pardon,: they woulde rather denye the libertye of soe great clemency to their persons, then seeke the same from him when hee was disarmed; against whome iff anything really might be obiected, itt could not bee interpreted as the fault of an excellent

prince, but of a most corrupt age,: and in such a strange time when vertue was growne vnseasonable, and hurtfull; too much lenity to the cruell, and candor to those that were of depraued dispositions; hee was seuerely honest, (scarse heeretofore vsuall amongst kings hee was endued with that modesty that distrusted euen its absolute abilities,: and a minde soe farre estranged from pride, that hee leste attributed to himselfe, in those thinges of his that were exactly pondred, then others woulde in theires that were very shallowly performed,: as iff of himselfe hee had beleeued the reproaches of his enemies; a great example hee was of liuinge, but a greater of dying, The same fortune hee suffred by vnworthy meanes as vertue ittselfe

whome present and aliue pursued with hate
but snatched away is valowed att the highest rate

The great defendor of the lawes being nowe taken away and the cement of gouerment vnloosed,: The Nouators beginne to subuert all the foundations of gouerment, and to trample vpon the lawes as they please,: and with impunity to rage ouer the liues, possessions, and liberties of all; presently vnder payne of Treason they forbidde any one to proclayme Charles the second (prince of wales) king; and as iff that had been to litle that not any one presume to pray to God Almighty for the safety of Charles the second vnder the nocion of prince of wales, or king of Scotland, or for the safety of the Duke of yorke, or any one of the kings Issue and that

vnder the penalty of sequestracion; They goe on alsoe to abrogate Monarchy, and the house of peeres, or vpper howse; The first vnder pretence of too much charge and danger: The later of vnprofitablenes, coyned with the danger of England; They turne the most ancient kingdome into a popolar state: and then command the Lord Mayor of London to proclayme itt: hee refusing, they depriue him of his office and fining him in 2000£ they clappe him in the Tower,: which abominable fact did not belong to the office of the Mayor but Sheriffe, and whoe alsoe tolde them that his conscience woulde not suffer him to doe itt being bounde in soe many obliging ligaments of oathes to the contrary; in his place, they lift vpp from the dunghill, a blockish fellowe; abrogating that oath wherein all that enter into any offices are bounde by the lawes to defende the kings Maiesty (least this scruple of conscience might affright others to obey their commands;) The common councell of the city of London, (that was wont to consist of the most wealthy, and graue citizens,) they thrust out of their places, as alsoe many parliament men, with a pretence deriued from a petition subscribed by them the yeare before (wherein they desire a personall Treaty with the king) substituting in their places, the most sordide men and of the vilest condicion, many of them being but youthes, but more of a deerspite fortune,: others that refused to associate the newe Mayor, and to assist the promulgating of the decree of abolishing Monarchy *videlicet* the recorder secretary or clarke,

they put of their places, bringing in newe men and those wholly deuoted to their faction; The former lawe made agaynst sects and schismes they repeale; They defraude the assembly men, and the ministers of those reuenewes promised them (*videlicet* the possessions of the Deanes &c.;) They professe they will free those that are of tender consciences from the burden of Teithes, giuing thowsands to some of them yearely for their maintenance out of the kings reuenewe, by which meanes they shall depend vpon the will and beck of the oligarchians and conspire togeather with them agaynst monarchy, and being after this manner hired, may att lenght doe their worke as bound to itt in duty; yea att that time they deliberate to shutt the doores of the churches, and to restrayne the liberty of the præsbiterians,: but being ouercome with milder councells, one and a second being macerated with the loathsomnes of imprisonment, and terrified with the sentence of death, (nowe feeling in themselues an experiment of that miserye, which before by their ouermuch diligence they had brought vpon others) the rest are commanded vnder the penalty of sequestracion to abstayne from inuectiues, to celebrate their fasts, and thancksgiuing daies,: as alsoe to apply themselues to obserue all the decrees of the Oligarchians whatsoeuer about ecclesiastical matters;

After this hauing noe respect to honesty, or bounds to iniquity, they spare noe sexe, nor degree, or order of men, they shutt vpp the Countesse of Carlile in the Tower, being vnworthily

vsed in respect of her sexe and splendor of her name, suffering this, out of an ouerweening opinion that shee att lenght fostered agaynst herselfe; Duke Hamilton alsoe and Earle of Holland (whoe that they might prouide for their owne safetye, were the first, and cheifest peeres that afforded both ayde and councell to the treacherous endeauours of the Nouators agaynst the king and too late repented itt;) and Amongst those of the kings party a man altogeather heroicall, the Lord Capell,: the cheife defendor of his countrey and king by the sentence of the same president Bradshawe (whoe hauing his hands already died in the blood of the king, knewe not howe to spare the blood of others) and by the like court of Iustice they condemme to bee beheaded; whome they deemed fitt, they depriue of their goods and large possessions, condemning them to exile, and that without any couler or pretence of lawe; yea they were about instituting a lawe by which itt showlde bee lawfull for the sowldiers to summon whomsoeuer they beleeued to bee an inemye to the Commonwealth and the Army before a councell of warr and to punish him with death; They constitute a councell of 40ty men, (whome they name by this title pleasing to the common people, keepers and conseruators of the peace and liberty of England) in whose power or att least nine of them showlde recide the administracion of the Commonweath; in the Catologue of which were inscribed three or fower of the most abiect peeres, and enslaued to their faction; ouer whome they place with the title of Lord

præsident the same Bradshawe, bestowing vpon him 2000£ yearely, as a reward for his regicide; moreouer a subscription is commanded vpon all, in which they are bounde to approue whatsoeuer the oligarchians had effected agaynst the king and kingdome,: To which when notwithstanding not a fewe were refractory, they are neuerthelesse admitted with this condicion that for the future with the hazard of euery mans life and fortune, they showlde to their vtmost defende this newe state and parliament which nowe was in being; After this, they woulde not admitt any of the secluded members, or those that haue slipt away, into parliament, vnlesse in subscribing their names they had approued of their abominable facts; notwithstanding they enioyne all to appeare vpon a prefixd day, vnlesse they woulde haue themselues debarrd for euer and others putt in their places; whereby it came to passe that some for feare of sequestracion, and I knowe not what danger, which in their timorous fancies they diuined to hang ouer them; others in hope of getting gayne by these newe practises, adioyne themselues not without the fowle noate of prævarication, to the Nouators of Oligarchy, and are admitted in the copartnorshipp of trouble and danger, but not of gouerment; They remoue these things first of all, vnder pretence of erecting a commonwealth, but in truth to establish the gouerment to themselues,: To which when all almost being miserably deiected, yealde,: the Democratians or Leuellers only struggle agaynst itt; These require, that the often repeated, and as

often promised repræsentatiue to bee chosen by the æquall suffrages of the people, bee instituted,: but nowe whenas their delegates were receaued and trampled one by the rest of the parliament,: they inueigh in their writings, and conferences, agaynst the arbitrary power of the Oligarchians,: agaynst the supreme Court of iustice, the councell of state or keepers of the liberty, as courts of most greiuous Tiranny shrowded under more pleasing names,: yea the regicide to bee vniust, and vphelde by noe lawes, or any iust authority,: and crye out, that the people had changed, but not shaken of their yoake, and that they had rather liue ten yeares vnder the gouerment of the worst of kings, then one vnder these mens dominions,: and that the boynes of king Charles, was farre lighter then the least of these mens fingers; (Beholde the force of trueth which drawes this language euen from those that were very vnwilling to vtter itt;) Att lenght they flye to Armes, and exciting the Common sowldiers, especially horsemen, and calling them hither and thither, they beginne to shape themselues into the forme of an Army; But the Oligarchians loose noe time to meete these enterprises: they easily suppresse them, being vnprouided, and disarme them, taking them prisoners (by this wile or stratagem giuing them hope of a Treaty, and vnder pretence of entring into agreements, *videlicet* amongst those honest men that meditated or minded the same thinges: but later considering of them and by course,:) The cheife authors of these troubles being shott to death, and others

more gently punished: they terrifye all the rest, that they dare not heereafter bee soe bolde, either with the biting trueth, to them maleuolous, molest the conquerors being in possession of all;

The Nouators nowe being secure of their dominion forbidde by an edict or Act any one to presume to accuse them of Tiranny, or soe much as mutter in word, or writing, or endeauour any thing agaynst them, and that vnder payne of Treason; They proclayme solemme Thancksgiuing daies, on which they giue publick Thanckes to god for matters thus happely atcheiued agaynst the Democratians or Leuellers, that by deluding god after this manner,: they may more easily ensnare the people, by making them reioyse in their miseries; and the same day, they are inuited by the Mayor and Aldermen of the city to a great feast, (but are not receaued without the raylings and imprætcations almost of all the beholders, where amongst the Teares, and miseries of very many, perishing with famine (which att that time raged) they sumptuously and greedily feast themselues; Moreouer ffairefax and Cromwell receaue splendide guifts both golde and siluer; and least the wretched citizens showlde seeme to haue lost all their oyle and labour in fatting these crowes,: They bestowe vpon them the kings palace, commonly called Greenwitch, in pretence to remunerate their late magnificence, but in truth that these men being vayne-glorious of this morcell, and allured with itts sweetnes, may bee drawne vnto their side, and might wish well to their newe gouerment; From this time nothing was

sacred or holy to them; The kings howshold stuffe, possessions, palaces, and reuenewes of the church, (which did belong to the deanes and præbends,) as yet vntouched, and by the votes of both howses of parliament, to bee distributed for the use of the newe clergye and præsbiterian ministers,: they mutually share amongst themselues, or sell them at a small valewe,: with these arts satisfying their owne couetousness, as alsoe inuoluing others in the same guilt, whereby they may bee more firmely vnited to their faction; Nor are they satiated with the reuenewes of the king and Quene, and those large ecclesiasticall possessions,: as alsoe those of the peeres and gentlemen (whoe being seuered from them make by farre the more powerfull part of the kingdome) which they had long sence seazed vpon, vnder the name of sequestracion, and swept away all their substance and goodes; with treasures almost infinite which they dayly pay to redeeme their reuenewes and to reenter into their fauour, whoe were but lately addicted to the king; as alsoe an incredible quantity of money, that they gather togeather vnder the nocion of exportacion, or custome, impositions,: and excise (A thing not heeretofore to be named in England) I shall not speake of those riuers of riches that flowe to them vndergrownde, those gifts and largesses that those that seeke after offices giue to purchase their fauour as alsoe their sollicitors clarcks (all which these couetous men powre into their purses) As that most heauy imposition of 90000£ collected monethly for the pay of the idle sowldier,: with

a modesty not blushing to pare to the Quick, a people thus soe often already shorne;

And nowe not contented with the Empire and spoyles of one kingdome, they with armes inuade the Irish, that will nowe obey the king,: (whoe whilst they were rebells, very many of them commended, truely fewe sett vpon them with hostility) promising to themselues a certaine victory ouer them and Ireland being ouercome they woulde alsoe bring under their obedience Scotland, and ffraunce, (both trauelling with factions:) and shake of the yoake which the kinges did oppresse the people of the earth,: which many of them are not affrayd openly to bragge of; Nor is itt manifest to any one where the raging cruelty of this scourge will terminate, where this waue will breake, except to the diuine maiesty, whoe hath hollowed a ditch for the sea, and hath limited itts boundes and hath sayed, hitherto shalt thou come and noe further, and this shore shall oppose ittselfe to the pride of thy waues,

FINIS.

Nec fides, nec finis, imperio dominanti.

NOTES

NOTES.

INTRODUCTION.—It is much to be wished, now that the last volume of the surpassingly interesting "Dictionary of National Biography" is out, that some means should be taken to put on record from time to time notes, queries, and corrections. For instance, in the account of Sir John Conway it is written: "Conway was made governor of Ostend on 29 Dec., 1586, by Robert, Earl of Leicester, who was then general of the English auxiliaries in behalf of the states of the United Provinces. For some reason he was made a prisoner, as appears from an original letter addressed by him to Sir Francis Walsingham, dated at Ostend, 8 Sept., 1588, concerning his imprisonment and the uses which might be made of one Berney, a spy, who had great credit with the Prince of Parma. During his confinement he wrote his 'Meditations and Praiers' on his trencher with 'leathy pensell of leade.' In July, 1590, he was licensed to return to Ostend, and the office of governor of Ostend was granted to Sir Edward Norreys. He died on 4 Oct., 1603, and was buried in Arron Church," etc. Now the writer of the article was only able to know of two copies of these "Meditations," different editions, one printed by Henry Wykes, the other by William How, but neither of them dated. He naturally concluded that the imprisonment of 1588 was that during which he wrote this dainty little volume, whereas it must have been when a prisoner for some other cause nearly twenty years before! Since then a third and most precious copy of a dated, and no doubt earliest, edition has turned up. The title page reads as follows: "Meditations and | Praiers, gathered out of the Sa- | cred Letters, and Vertuous Wri- | ters: Disposed in fourme of the | Alphabet of the Queene her | moste excellent Maie- | sties Name. | Whereunto are added com- | fortable Consolations (drawen | out of the Latin) to affli- | cted Mindes. | Multæ tribulationes Iustorum, & de om- | nibus liberabit eos Dominus. Psal. 34. | ¶ Imprinted at London | by William How. | An. 1571." It measures some three and a half by three inches.

P. 26.—"CHARLES R.—Trusty and right well beloued Cussen and Counceller, We being confident of your affection and fidelity to our seruis, doe Commaund you, vppon your duty and

Allegence, immediatly vppon the sight herof, to repaire in person, with all possible speede, vnto our towne of Hull, and to take our sayd towne of Hull, and our Magazen there, into your care and gouernment, and Wee doe farther require you to take into the said towne of Hull, the Regiment of Sr. Thomas Mettam, or any other force, that you shall thinke nessesary, for the defence of that place, and Wee doe straightly Commaund you to keepe the said place and Magazens for vs against all attempts whatsoeuer, and Wee doe farther Commaund you, not to forsake, or deliuer vpp the sayd place, vppon any Commaund whatsoeuer, other then vnder our owne hande, and Wee doe by thease presents commaund, all Liuetennaunts deputy Liuetennaunts, and all other officers whatsoeuer within yorkesheire to obay your Commaunds, for our seruis, and We doe herby Commaund particularly, Sr. Thomas Mettam, the Mayor and other officers of Hull, and Captayne William Legg keeper of our Magazin there, to yeeld obedience to your Commaunds, for the securing of that place for all which this shall be your suffitient Warrant, giuen vnder our Hand at Hampton Courte the 11th of January 1641. —For our Right trusty and well beloued Cussen and Councellor the Earle of New Castle.—Execut this with all diligence & secresie untill ye cum upon the place C.R." This important letter * from Charles the First, which I here give in full, is a good instance of how vividly the sight of a genuine original document calls to the mind's eye a scene of ages ago. The letter is dated at Hampton Court, the 11th of January, 1641, or of our modern reckoning, 1642. Only on the day before, Charles quitted Whitehall, never to see it again until his execution. Only three days later, finding it unsafe to stay so near to London, he left Hampton Court for Windsor. Every line of the letter betokens eager anxiety; but on reading it over, the King still feels that he has not said enough, and so he pens that urgent footnote. This letter, when it came into my hands privately some years ago, was in company with a letter from Tom Parry to Benjamin Webster: ". . . . I am at this moment dreadfully in need of Five and Twenty Pounds, indeed, I may say the matter is of vital importance; and I would venture to ask you to let me have that sum on my acceptance for three months. I am a little encouraged to do this, as I am now in the second Act of an original Comic Drama intended for the Haymarket, wherein I have a character for you." It is a long letter, and, like the King's, has a postscript: "Accompanying this is an autograph letter of no less a personage than King Charles I. I have had it by me many

* Vide "English Historical Review," January, 1900, p. 125.

years, and it has as often been mislaid. I have just now again put my hand upon it. I know not whether you are a collector of curiosities—if so—will you favor me by its acceptance?"

P. 30, l. 19.—The following warrant, which I give here direct from the genuine original, is very interesting, especially as mentioning a sum for redemption of his Majesty's jewels: "After my hearty Commendacions: Whereas Phillipp Burlimachi of London merchant, hath paid and is to paie for his Maiesties speciall seruice, the seuerall somes following (vizt.) 18000£ to the Officers of Demurrage in full of theire Entertainement, 19000£ for redempcion of his Maiesties Iewells mortgaged in Holland, 4736£ for interest and Charges of the said Iewells vppon Accoumpt to be rendred by Phillipp Calandine and the said Burlimachi, 6000£ for an Arreare due to the King and Queene of Bohemiah for the moneths of August, September, October and November, 438 —. to Mousr. Ioachim Ambr. of the States of the United Provinces, 2449£ to the Lord Viscount Dorchester, to three of his Maiesties Ambrs. Extraordinary in fforraigne pts. (vizt.) 1000£ to Sr. Henry Vane Knt., 1836£ to Sr. ffrauncis Cottington Knt. and 856£ to Sr. Isaack Knt. to sundry persons ymployed as Agents for his Maiesties seruice in fforraigne pts. (vizt.) 306£ to Mounsr. Augice, 143 to Henry de Vic, 211£ to Thomas Rolantson, 244£ to Oliuer ffleming, 200£ to Thomas Gourdon, 178 to William Boswell, 486 to Sr. Dudley Carlton, and 100£ to Hugh Rosse. 394£ to Captaine Mason for soe much due to Sr. ffrauncis Willoughbie Knt. 100£ for the rent of a house for Hubert le Sueur and 11825£ . 18 . 5 pte. of 12825£ . 18 . 5 for Daniel Nye: Amounting in all to the some of 68502£ 18s. 5d.: These are to pray and require you to leauy or Cause to be leauied Talley or Talleys for payment of the some of 66803£ 5s. 5d. in pte. thereof in such manner and forme as hereafter is sett downe vppon the seuerall braunches of his Maiesties Reuennue following (vizt.) vppon the rent of the Great ffarme, for the yeare ending att Christmas 1632. 30000£ vppon the rent of the Tynne ffarmers 13500£ as followeth in Iune 1632. 4500£ in December 1632. 4500£ and in June 1633. 4500£ vppon the rent of the fforrest of Deane, due at our Lady 1632 and Michaelmas 1632. 3000£ vppon Mr. Iohn Iacobs, vppon his Accoumpts of the Pretermitted Customes ending in December 1632. 2200£ vppon the Accoumpt of the Ordinance transported beyound the Seas 6000£ and vppon the rent of the wine Lycences 12103£ 5s. 5d. as followeth (vizt.) vppon the yeare ending in December 1632. 2000£ vppon the yeare ending in December 1633. 2000£ vppon the yeare ending in December 1634. 2000£ vppon the yeare

ending in December 1635. 2000£ vppon the yeare ending in December 1636. 2000£ and vppon the yeare ending in December 1637. 2103£ 5s. 5d.: And whereas the Consideracioun for the forbearaunce of the said some of 68502£ 18s. 5d. doth amounte vnto the some of 7181£ These are also to pray and require you to Cast vpp the same, and likewise to leauy or Cause to be leauied Talley or Talleys for payment thereof, vppon the rent of the said wine Lycences as followeth vizt.: vppon the yeare ending in December 1638. 2200£ vppon the yeare ending in December 1639. 2200£ vppon the yeare ending in December 1640. 2200£ and vppon the yeare ending in December 1641. 581£ And for soe doing this shalbe your warrant.—Your loving freind R. WESTON.—To my loving freinds Sr. Robert Pye Knt. Auditor of the Receipt Sr. Edward Wardour Knt. Clerk of the Pells and the rest of his Maiesties Officers there whome it may Concerne." Richard Weston, afterwards Earl of Portland, was lord treasurer.

P. 108.—John Crane, who was clerk of the household to James I. and Charles I., makes the following scathing remarks about two of those who tried the King: "Sir Arthur Haslerig—A knave from ye beginning. John Foulks, Alderman—Was ever reconed a knave." These entries are made by Crane in a copy of "Reliquæ Sacræ Carolinæ, 1650," which was bound up with "King Charles, His Tryall."

INDEX.

A

Alonso, Don, of Cordova, 32, 33.
Anabaptists, 51, 120.
Archbishop of Canterbury, xvii.
Arguile, 84.
Army, 29, 108, 112, 120, 133.
Ashmole, Elias, xvii.
Augice, Mounsr., 143.

B

Barwick, Dr., xviii.
Barwick, G. F., xviii.
Bate, Elizabeth, xxvii.
—— George, xix, xxvii.
Benhadad, 112.
Berney, 141.
Bishopps, reuenewes of the, 29.
Bliss, Philip, xxvii.
Bodleian Library, xvii.
Bohemia, King and Queen of, 143.
Boswell, William, 143.
Bradshawe, 110, 133, 134.
Briareus, 5.
Browne, Samuel, xx.
Buckinghamshire, xxvi.
Burlimachi, P., 143.

C

Calandine, P., 143.
Caligula, 118.
Cambridge, 111.
Camebridge, 87.
Capell, the Lord, 133.
Carewe, 41.
Carlile, Countesse of, 132.
Carlton, Sir Dudley, 143.
Charles I., xxvi, xxviii, 141, 142.

Charles II., xxvi, 83, 130.
——— Prince, 26; reuenewes of, 29.
Chester, 36.
Church of England, xviii.
Claverhouse, xvii.
Colchester, xviii, 83.
College of Physicians, xxvi.
Commissioners from the parliament, 50.
Connaught, 37.
Conway, Sir John, 141.
Cooke, 110.
Corke, 37.
Cornewall men, 82.
Cottington, Sir Francis, 143.
Court of Chancery, 16.
Cowley, A., xx.
Crane, John, 144.
Cromwell, xxvi, 57, 62, 70, 71, 76, 85, 136.

D

Deane, the fforrest of, 143.
Deedes, Rev. Canon, xviii.
Denbigh, Earle of, 75.
Denham, Sir John, xx.
"Dictionary of National Biography," xx, 141.
Directory, the, 42.
Dorchester, Viscount, 143.
Dorislawe, 110.
Downes, the, 33.
Dublin, 31, 38.

E

Eaton, 87.
"Eikon Basilike," xxii.
"Elenchus," bibliography of, xxi-xxv.
Elizabeth, Queene, 141.
Essex, Earl of, 57.
——— men, 82, 83.

F

Fairfax, 118.
Fanshaw, Sir R., xx.

ffairefax, 60, 61, 68, 99, 100, 101, 136.
——— Lord, 57.
ffairfax, Sir Thomas, 57.
ffarme, the Great, 143.
ffarne Abby, 33.
ffleming, Oliuer, 143.
Five members, 24.
Foulks, John, 144.

G

Gardiner, Dr. Rawson, xxviii.
Gourdon, Thomas, 143.
Greenwitch, 136.

H

Hamilton, Duke, 83, 84.
———— Duke of, 133.
———— Marquesse of, 47; and a noble woeman, 25.
Hampton Court, 92, 142.
Hatton Garden, xxvii.
Haslerig, Sir A., 144.
Hauen, 41.
Haymarket Theatre, 142.
Henrietta Maria, 143.
Hidra, 23.
Holland, 143.
Holland, Earle of, 133.
Holmeby, 50.
Horace, xix, xx, 107.
Hothams, both the, 41.
How, William, 141.
Hull, 41, 142.
Hurst castle, 103.

I

Iacobs, Iohn, 143.
Iewells, Queene pawnes, 30.
——— the Queen's, 143.
Inchiquene, Lord, 39.
———— Lord of, 37.
Independents, 44, 55, 110.
Ireland, 30-38, 61, 94, 95, 97, 138.
——— Lord leiutenant of, 32.

Ireton, 99, 100.
Irish Army, dissolucion of the, 32.
Irish masse-preists, 31.
Isaack, Sir, 143.
Isle of Wight, 71, 94.

J

James I., coronation of, xvii.
Jenner, Henry, xvii.
Joachim, Mousr., 143.
Jones gouernor of Dublin, 39.
Juxon, 119.

K

King, reuenewes of the, 29.
—— the, 1-7.
Kingston upon Thames, xxvii.
Kings Trial, 108.
Knights seruice, 92.

L

Laud, 21.
Lawde, william, Archbishopp of Canterbury, 41.
"Liber Regalis," xvii.
Lid, George, xxxi.
Legg, Dr. Wickham, xvii.
—— Leopold Wickham, xviii.
—— William, 142.
Leicester, Robert Earl of, 141.
Lenthall, 56.
Lisle, Sir George, xviii.
London, 48, 65, 83, 91, 103, 104.
——— City of, 26.
Lord Mayor, 66, 91.
———— of London, 131.
Lucas, Sir Charles, xviii.

M

Maids Morton, xxvi.
Maria, Queen Henrietta, xxviii.
Marriners, 85.
Marshall, 60.
Mason, Captaine, 143.

Masse preists, 33.
"Meditations and Praiers," 141.
Mettam, Sir Thomas, 142.
Militia, 27, 91.
Montrose, Marquis of, xvii.
Moore, Dr. Norman, xx.
Mountrosse, Earle of, 47.
Munster, 37.

N

Nationall league and Couenant, 43
Nauy, 29.
Newcastle, 48.
———— Earle of, 142.
New College, xxvi.
Newport, 93.
Norfolke men, 82.
Norreys, Sir Edward, 141.
Nouators, 110, 111, 130, 133, 136.
Nye, Daniel, 143.

O

O'Donoghue, F. M., xxxi.
Oligarchians, 109, 132.
Ormond, 97, 98.
———— Marquesse of, 38, 39, 94.
Ostend, 141.
Oxford, 46, 87, 90.
Oxford iudgment (Covenant), 45.

P

Palatine, Prince, 143.
Parliament, 7-18.
Parry, Tom, 142.
Peeters, 111, 119.
Pembrooke, 83.
Peters, Hugh, 100.
Philips, Fabian, xxviii.
Pindar, xx.
Plimmouth, 41.
Plunkett, 34.
Popes Legate, 38.
Præsbiterian, 59.
Præsbiterians, 46, 51, 54.

Præsbitery, 96.
Præston, 38, 39.
Princess Elizabeth, xviii.
Portland, Earl of, 144.
Portrait frontispiece, xxxi.
Pye, Sir Robert, 144.

Q

Queene, 26, 33, 63, 65.
Queen's College, xxvi.
——— iewells, 30.

R

Rainsborough, 83.
"Regal Apology," the, xxvii.
"Reliquæ Sacræ Carolinæ," 144.
Roe, Owen, 38.
Rolantson, Thomas, 143.
Roscommon, Earle of, xx.
Rosse, Hugh, 143.
Rowe, Owen, 39.
"Royal Apology," the, xxvii.
Royal Society, xxvi.
Royston, Richard, xx.

S

St. Edmund's Hall, xxvi.
St. Jameses palace, 122.
Scotland, 21, 138.
Scottish expedition, 32.
Sime, John, xvii.
Skippon, 60.
Spayne, king of, 33.
Strafford, 24.
Sueur, Hubert le, 143.
Suffolke men, 82.
Surry men, 82, 83.

T

Taffe, 38, 39.
Thames, 45.
Tower, 67, 131.
Tower of London, 91.
Translations, xix.

Troians, 85.
Tynne ffarmers, 143.

U

Ulster, 37.

V

Vane, Sir Henry, 143.
Vic, Henry de, 143.
Virgill, xx.

W

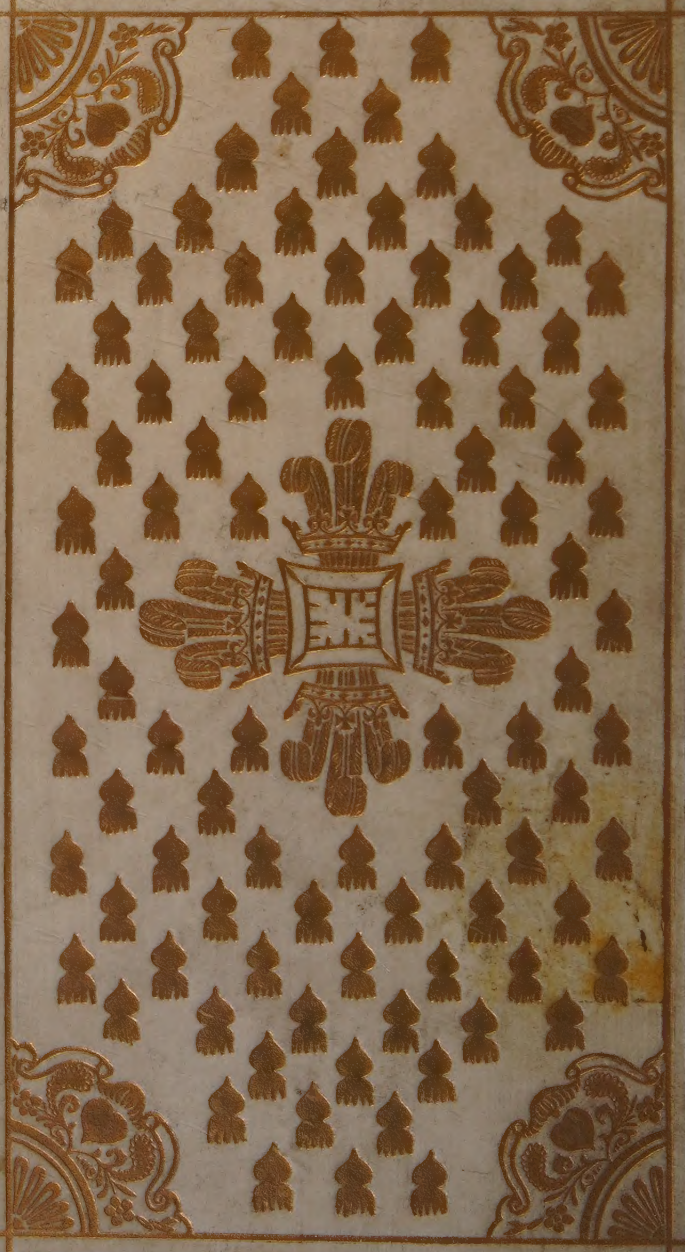
Waller, xx.
Walsingham, Sir Francis, 141.
Wardour, Sir Edward, 144.
Warwick, Earle of
Webster, Benjamin, 142.
Welchmen, 82.
Welsh men, 83.
Westell, James, xix.
Westminster, 90.
———— Hall, 25.
Weston, R., 144.
Whitehall, 121, 142.
Willoughbie, Sir Frauncis, 143.
Winchester, 87.
Windsor, 26, 100, 142.
Wood, Anthony, xxvii.
Wykes, Henry, 141.

Y

Yorke, 26.
——— Duke of, 130.

CHELSEA PUBLIC LIBRARY.

Reference Department.

JUL 1947

25 OCT 1951